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Vol. LVIII, No. 1 *October, 1952*

The Perfect Democracy of the Roman Empire

CHESTER G. STARR, JR.

THE title of this essay is in a sense ironical, for the inhabitants of the Roman Empire did not fail to recognize that they were subject to the will of one man, over whom there was no practical control save that of force. Quite widely the subjects felt that they did not have political liberty, and some drew the conclusion that they lived in slavery. Such persons, however, were hasty to add that the slavery of the Roman Empire was preferable to any democracy or put other qualifications on their general line of thought. Some subjects of the Empire, as this essay will show, even wound up with the idea that the rule of one man, provided he were just, was really a perfect democracy. Although these remarks will be confined to the Roman Empire, the corruption of political terms which we shall find cannot but remind one of current Russian arguments.

To understand the men of the second and third centuries after Christ who talked of the perfect democracy, we must consider briefly the earlier meanings of the term democracy and the course of development of the new system of government set up by Augustus. In the first century B.C. neither

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the Greek *demokratia* nor its Latin equivalent, *libertas,* meant precisely what their English equivalents do today. During the Hellenistic Age *demokratia* no longer necessarily connoted a system of direct popular control like that of Periclean Athens, but had come in practice to be applicable to any government which was not openly monarchical. At Rome itself *libertas* was a prized possession of the individual citizen in the sense of his private rights as a free Roman, but these rights rested in the end upon the structure of the state. So the term *libertas* had a broad political meaning when applied to the state as a whole. All Romans in the late Republic agreed that the liberty of the Roman state rested in the facts that the magistrates were elected annually and checked each other in colleges of two or more, the laws were supreme and controlled all citizens equally, and the power rested technically in the hands of the people.[1]

Beyond this point lay argument. On the one side was the element which was trying to break the monopoly of office enjoyed by a narrow aristocracy. This group, the *populares,* had held since the days of the Gracchi that liberty required among other things wide powers for the tribunate as against the senate, the appeal to the people for decision if a Roman citizen were capitally accused, secret balloting, and the election of magistrates on the basis of merit rather than inherited position *(dignitas).*[2] The senatorial group, entrenched in a commanding position, had given to the term *libertas* in its constitutional sense quite a different meaning, which was dominant on down into the Empire. To this element *libertas* consisted in the power of the senators to run the state without interference, to exercise their vaunted authority *(auctoritas);* the people were to do little beyond choosing which noble they wished to follow.[3] Resting on a widespread, old Roman prejudice against individualism particularly in the lower classes, the aristocracy argued that liberty lay between servitude to one person and license, by which they meant undue activity by the people; and so a common adjunct to the noun *libertas* is such an adjective as *modica.*[4] Liberty unlimited by authority turned into license, but conversely when the authority of the senate had full sway

[1] On the Hellenistic meaning of *demokratia* cf. J.A.O. Larsen in *Classical Philology,* XL (1945), 88–91; David Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton, 1950), pp. 57 ff. On the Roman concept cf. Hans Kloesel, *Libertas* (Diss. Breslau, 1935), pp. 24–30; Ernst Meyer, *Römischer Staat und Staatsgedanke* (Zurich, 1948), pp. 221 ff.; Ch. Wirszubski, *Libertas as a Political Idea at Rome during the Late Republic and Early Principate* (Cambridge, Eng., 1950), pp. 3–30.

[2] Kloesel, pp. 39–47; Wirszubski, pp. 31–65.

[3] Ample analysis of this attitude will be found in Kloesel, pp. 8–16, 26, 36–47; Friedrich W. Fürst, *Die Bedeutung der Auctoritas* (Diss. Marburg, 1934); Richard Heinze, "Auctoritas," *Hermes,* LX (1925), 348–66. As Cicero, *De leg.*3.24–25, says, the liberty of the people consists in letting themselves be governed by the *auctoritas principum.*

[4] Numerous examples in Kloesel, pp. 12–15, e.g., Livy 24.25.8 and especially Valerius Maximus 6.2.

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then the Roman state enjoyed liberty and in Greek could be called a *demokratia*. To Cicero a secret ballot was permissible if the common man showed his ballot to "some excellent and serious citizen" before depositing it.[5] In point of fact, the Roman system allowed little initiative or freedom of expression to the people when they assembled on official occasions; even though the *populares* managed to get themselves into office at various points in the struggle of the first century B.C., this situation was not much changed. In the Roman Republic government might be for the people, at least in theory, but it was scarcely by the people; genuine political freedom existed only for the upper elements.

As many of the historians of the Empire looked back, they judged that the battles of Philippi (42 B.C.) marked the end of democracy or liberty in the senatorial sense. Brutus and Cassius, the assassins of Caesar, talked much of freedom. They struck a coin bearing the words "Ides of March" with a liberty cap between two daggers, a clear argument that by their murder of Caesar on that date they had liberated the fatherland. Their watchword at Philippi was *libertas*. Athens, in erecting bronze images of the two, deliberately placed the statues beside the group of the earlier tyrannicides Harmodius and Aristogeiton. Cicero might be dubious because the liberators had not really restored the power of the senate, and we today may feel that liberty to Brutus meant the opportunity to exploit the provinces at 48 per cent yearly compound interest;[6] but the fall of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi to such contemporary historians as Asinius Pollio and to most later writers was the turning point.

Thus Appian, Florus, Dio Cassius, and Plutarch all borrow from Pollio his conviction that the war of Philippi was a contest of democracy and monarchy. The battles of this war decided the fate of Rome, and, says Appian dryly, "they have not gone back to democracy yet."[7] In later battles (as between Octavian and Antony) the Roman people merely determined who was to be their master, but never again did the Roman world enjoy absolute freedom of speech. Yet Dio and Florus agree in saying that the result, though slavery, was desirable since Octavian won.[8]

[5] Cicero, *De leg.*3.38–39. Cf. also his statement, *Pro L. Flacco* 16, that Greece fell because of "immoderate liberty and the license of the public assemblies." All quotations in the following pages are from the Loeb Library (by permission of Harvard University Press), unless otherwise noted.

[6] Dio Cassius 47.25.3 and *BMC Roman Republic* 2, 479–80; Dio Cassius 47.43.1, 47.20.4; Cicero, *Ad fam.* 11.7.2., *Ad. Att.*14.14.

[7] Appian, *B.C.*4.127, 138; also 4.69, 91, 97–98, 133.

[8] Dio Cassius 47.39, cf.47.42.3–5, 47.32.2. Florus 2.14. Also Plutarch, *Compar. Demet. et Ant.* 2.1–2; Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* 7.15.14–16, who quotes Seneca (probably the Elder, cf. *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum,* XIX, 633) as saying *"amissa enim libertate, quam Bruto duce et auctore defenderat . . ."* On Pollio see Elizabeth D. Pierce, *A Roman Man*

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The cry of liberty certainly was much raised in the years around Philippi. Appian, in recounting the events of 43 B.C., tells a story about the senate's consultation with Etruscan diviners after numerous prodigies; the oldest diviner, so the tale runs, announced "that the kingly rule of former times was coming back, and that they would all be slaves except only himself, whereupon he closed his mouth and held his breath till he was dead."[9] Both Lucius Antony and Mark Antony revived the cry against Octavian, but both failed.[10] By 30 B.C. men of the senatorial side like Asinius Pollio, viewing Octavian's absolute mastery of the Roman world, might well have argued that Octavian had destroyed *libertas,* and even that he had enslaved Rome.

Such a conclusion was not one that Octavian could easily admit.[11] In the provinces he was already being hailed because he had brought an end to war and extortion; but the provinces did not as yet matter politically.[12] What did matter politically was the upper class of Rome, and to convince this group he was a liberator was not so simple. Yet it was essential. Octavian could look back to the fate of his great-uncle Caesar, who had openly accepted a position of autocracy at the eventual cost of his life.[13] Caesar, a relentlessly logical person, had quite ignored the power of tradition; Octavian realized more clearly the intense, if intangible, belief of Rome that it was the seat of liberty.[14] Again, Octavian wished to tap the strength of the senatorial class to help him carry the burden of governing the Empire, but could not hope to do so as a master ruling over conscious slaves.

The result was the dramatic gesture of 27 B.C., when Octavian returned his power to the senate and so "restored" the Republic. The senate in turn handed back to him some of this power in legal form and gave him the title of Augustus. The precise steps in the development of his system, the Princi-

of Letters, Gaius Asinius Pollio (New York, 1922); his attachment to *libertas* appears in his letter to Cicero, *Ad Fam.*10.31. See now J. André, *Asinius Pollion* (Paris, 1949).

[9] Appian, *B.C.*4.4; cf. also 3.90 and Dio Cassius 46.32.1, 46.34.4–5.

[10] Lucius, Appian, *B.C.*5.30–31, 39, 43, 45; Mark, Dio Cassius 50.7.1, 50.22.4. Cf. Kenneth Scott, "The Political Propaganda of 44–30 B.C.," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome,* XI (1933), 7–49.

[11] He fined the Nursians severely for burying their dead of the Perusine War under the inscription, "they died for liberty" (Suet. *Aug.*12, Dio Cassius 48.13.6); this attitude could not be allowed to spread publicly.

[12] In Egypt Augustus was called Zeus Eleutherios; cf. Lily Ross Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (Middletown, 1931), pp. 143, 270. Cf. also Philo, *Leg.* 146–47; Suet. *Aug.* 98.2, where Alexandrian merchants praise Augustus because *"libertate atque fortunis per illum frui."*

[13] As Kloesel, pp. 48–51, points out, Caesar paid little attention to the word *libertas.* Only in *B.C.*1.22 did he claim to have crossed the Rubicon to restore the tribunes and *"ut se et populum Romanum factione paucorum oppressum in libertatem vindicaret."* For other examples of similar phrases in the late Republic, cf. Wirszubski, p. 103.

[14] E.g., Cicero, *Phil.*3.36, 6.19 *("aliae nationes servitutem pati possunt, populi Romani est propria libertas"),* 10.20, etc.

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pate, and its division of powers between the ruler and the senate need not be detailed here; the essential point is his effort to impress his contemporaries, and posterity as well, with the compatibility of his structure and the old concept of *libertas*. His new constitutional position of a "first citizen" whose authority was voluntarily accepted by all was a most difficult one to maintain, for both friends and enemies tried to push him toward open absolutism; but Augustus was one of the most deft politicians the world has seen. For the next forty-one years to his death in A.D. 14 he succeeded in balancing himself among these pressures, and strove insistently to establish the idea that the Principate was not slavery but rather a mystic rejuvenation of the Roman race along traditional lines.[15]

The contemporaries of Augustus tended to accept this idea, at least outwardly, both because of his skill in mollifying all elements and because of their gratitude for the cessation of those wars which had nearly wrecked the Mediterranean world.[16] Yet beneath the surface, and more openly after his death, one can detect a realization of the fact that the Principate was essentially the rule of one man. Even in the lifetime of Augustus there were surreptitious attacks by canard and by rumor on the principle of monarchy he embodied.[17] The greatest jurist of the Augustan Age, M. Antistius Labeo, "remembered the liberty in which he had been born" and stalked about Rome in grim defiance of the new system.[18] Nor did Augustus succeed, despite all his shrewd efforts, in determining what later generations thought of him. At the beginning of the *Annals* Tacitus bitterly sums up Augustus' reign as a secret subversion of the Republic and establishment of slavery; then, on Augustus' death, "consuls, senators, and equestrians rushed into slavery" by taking an oath to Tiberius.[19] Generally in the later historians Augustus did obtain acceptance as a clement, moderate ruler, as we can see in the books of Dio Cassius on his Principate, yet with all his benignity Augustus was an autocrat to Dio's eyes, and this is the tone of almost every later writer. The Empire began when Augustus took the power in his own

[15] Cf. the bibliography in *Cambridge Ancient History*, X, 914–16, to which may be added Meyer, *Römischer Staat und Staatsgedanke*, pp. 330–57; Michael Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas* (Cambridge, 1946), pp. 424 ff.; André Magdelain, *Auctoritas Principis* (Paris, 1947), esp. pp. 37 ff. I personally find the remarks of Eduard Norden, *Neue Jahrbücher*, VII (1901), 260–65, 314, more penetrating than most of the discussion on the spirit of the Augustan system.

[16] His restoration of the Republic is directly accepted in *Laudatio Turiae* (Dessau 8393 2.35); and the Praeneste Fasti for the Ides of January (*Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, I², p. 231).

[17] Suet. *Claud.*1.4–5; cf. the speech of Livia in Dio Cassius 55.14.6, which Dio took from some first-century source.

[18] Porphyry ad Hor. *Sat.*1.3.82, *"memor libertatis, in qua natus erat, multa contumaciter adversus Caesarem dixisse et fecisse dicitur."* Cf. Aulus Gellius, *N.A.*13.12.3–4; Suet.*Aug.*54; Dio Cassius 54.15.7–8.

[19] *Ann.*1.7.1, cf.1.2.1, 1.3.7., 1.8.7, 1.46.4, 1.81.3; *Hist.*1.50.

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hands, and the emperor was an autocrat;[20] nor can one entirely overlook the undercurrent of opinion that Augustus had really secured his rule by fear. Septimius Severus, for instance, sent shudders down the spines of his senatorial audience by dilating on the desirable cruelty of Augustus, Sulla, and Marius.[21]

Those persons who thought of *libertas* as meaning government of the Roman state by the senators and magistrates, with minor participation by the people, must necessarily have rejected the equation of Principate=liberty which later rulers usually tried to uphold.[22] In A.D. 41, on the murder of Gaius, the senate itself, or a part of it at least, tried to abolish the Principate under the rallying cry of *libertas,* but the effort failed through the disunity of the senate and the opposition of the praetorian guard and the people. Shortly thereafter, in the reign of Nero, the bold young poet Lucan wrote a poem attacking the Principate as slavery. Lucan, indeed, pushed the end of liberty back to the victory of Caesar over Pompey, and especially to the fall of Cato the Just; perhaps Augustus was too sacred a figure to accuse directly, but then again Lucan felt, as others, that after the days of Sulla and Marius, "the sun of freedom with all its endless store of blessings was constantly drawing nearer to its setting."[23] Tacitus also thought of liberty at times in the old Republican sense, and so considered the Principate to be slavery, at least until Nerva Caesar "mingled two formerly alien ideas, principate and liberty."[24]

By the time of Tacitus, however, the term *libertas* was undergoing a subtle shift of meaning, as a result of which we must stop each time we meet this word in imperial writers to determine what it means in the context. At times it continues to be a shorthand symbol for the system of government of the late Republic, but more and more frequently it indicates purely personal private freedom which is extended for the senatorial class to include also general freedom of speech in the senate house and outward respect for

[20] Velleius Paterculus 2.89.3–4 is the only writer I know who accepted Augustus' claims at face value after his death. One of the better modern appreciations of the autocracy of the Empire may be found in the delightful study by Harold Mattingly, *The Man in the Roman Street* (New York, 1947).

[21] Dio 75.8.1; cf. Appian, *B.C.*1.5, and above all Seneca's (?) play *Octavia,* where Nero is made to expound the view that Augustus consolidated the Empire by fear (*"continuit imperium metus"* 1.526).

[22] In "Der Prinzipat und die Freiheit," *Symbola Coloniensia* (Cologne, 1949), pp. 113–41, Lothar Wickert has collected a great mass of evidence for the rulers' claims that they supported, and embodied *libertas.*

[23] Theodor Mommsen, *History of Rome* (New York, 1895), IV, 155. Lucan, *Phars.* 2.301–3, 2.318–19, 5.665–68, 7.432–33, 7.579–81, 9.204–206 with 2.68–224 on Sulla and Marius; cf. Florus 2.13.2; Dio Cassius 41.17.3, 41.53; Appian, *B.C.*2.77; Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.38. Note also the remarks by various rhetoricians on slavery in Seneca, *Suas.* 6 and 7.

[24] *Agr.* 3; on the variety of meanings of *libertas* in Tacitus, cf. Wirszubski, pp. 160–67, who notes that in the main it denotes "the individual will and courage to be free" and so to maintain one's dignity as a senator in the face of absolutism.

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senatorial dignity by the ruler. The variation in meaning is nicely expressed in the trial of the consular Thrasea Paetus under Nero. Charged, whether correctly or not need not concern us here, with attempting to overthrow the Empire so as to restore the old senatorial *libertas,* Thrasea Paetus and his associated defendants were accused of really overthrowing liberty in the sense of private freedom (i.e., the inhabitants of the Empire were sure of their personal freedom only so long as the emperor ruled). By the early second century general acceptance of the new meaning of liberty had proceeded so far that Pliny the Younger usually employed the term in this sense in his famous *Panegyric* of Trajan, delivered by senatorial directive before the ruler and senate. So the orator saw nothing ironical in praising Trajan for his order to the senate "to resume liberty"; when we use the freedom he gave, continues Pliny, he will know we are being obedient to him.[25]

In its shift of meaning the word *libertas* merely bowed to the facts, just as the senators bowed with Pliny before their "prince most similar to the gods." Quite simply, the Empire *was* an autocracy, and its subjects recognized the fact beneath all legal trappings. It is true that the provinces were prosperous, that the Mediterranean world enjoyed peace, order, and security as never before, that the emperors tolerated provincial idiosyncrasies and respected the private liberty of the ordinary subject; but none of these facts really bears on the issue.[26] At most they secured wide adhesion to the imperial system so that there was little outright revolt or even merely vocal opposition. The tragic dissatisfaction of the Jews, the witty slurs of the Alexandrian mob, the suspicion of Roman ways by professional Hellenists—all these were in the large view incidental and inevitable.[27]

But on the political level power in the Roman Empire lay in the hands of one man, supported by the armed forces, and all intrigue for position, honor, or money eddied about his person. Again, good and bad emperors alike carefully controlled the expression of political opinion. Precedent for their control of thought might be derived from the Hellenistic monarchies, but a precedent lay even closer at hand in the senatorial distinction between

[25] Tac.*Ann.*16.22.8; Pliny, *Pan.*66.2–4, 67.2, 78.3. Cf. the analysis of Trajanic liberty in Henry Bardon, *Les empereurs et les lettres latines* (Paris, 1940), pp. 384 ff.

[26] As one reads some of the more enthusiastic descriptions of the Romanization of the Roman Empire, one wonders what a materially-minded archaeologist will conclude 2000 years from now in his Report on Excavations at Magnitogorsk, or his Preliminary Study of the Buried Cities of Kazakstan. After dealing with the obvious evidence of great advances in the early twentieth century, after restoring and publishing the eulogies of Joseph Stalin, and perhaps after recovering a fragmentary copy of the fair-sounding Soviet constitution of 1936, will our archaeologist be able to understand and fit in his picture of Russian civilization the occasional cries of "Slavery" which may have been transmitted to his era?

[27] The evidence is compactly assembled in Harald Fuchs, *Der geistige Widerstand gegen Rom in der antiken Welt* (Berlin, 1938).

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liberty and license which had muzzled the lower classes during much of the Republic.[28] Now, however, the precedent was turned against the aristocracy itself.

During the Empire it is frequently difficult to hear the muted voices of opposition.[29] Physical tokens of opinion—statues, arches, temples, and so on—could usually be erected only on approval of the ruler; the possibility of downright opposition in lasting inscriptions was slight (at least we have none!). The last expression of nonimperial ideas on coins comes under Augustus; thereafter even the senatorial *aes* coinage moves within the framework of imperial policy. The great libraries of Rome were under imperial control, and books disapproved by the ruler might not find an entrance. The pressure of the imperial system on literature and the stage may surely not be estimated solely by the obvious flattery of court poets on the one hand nor by the record of suppression, exile, and execution of erring writers under the "bad emperors," for though other rulers were widely tolerant there were always bounds beyond which one should not go.[30] Not only were there bounds; emperors at times also established goals, and in quite shamelessly frank fashion.[31] Action by the senate degenerated in the second and third centuries into the rhythmical acclamation of the emperor's slightest wish. Especially distressing even to contemporaries of the imperial system was its secrecy, which made it impossible for the politically conscious elements to form a solid judgment on foreign policy, finances, or anything else of political significance.[32]

Legally the rulers from Augustus on had wide powers to put down any "improper" uses of arms or force,[33] and to prevent such action they had not only an army and navy but also an extensive secret police. Politically significant persons—of wealth, family, or culture—had always to watch what they said, in varying degrees depending on the nature of their ruler; but Dio was, I

[28] Cf. Tenney Frank, "Naevius and Free Speech," *American Journal of Philology*, XLVIII (1927), 105–10; Laura Robinson, *Freedom of Speech in the Roman Republic* (Baltimore, 1940), with the interesting review by Arnaldo Momigliano in *Journal of Roman Studies*, XXXII (1942), 120–24. The line of Ennius, *"palam muttire plebeio piaculum est"* (Festus, p. 145) may be derived from a Greek source but it is quoted by Phaedrus, 3 Epilogue 34, as apposite to Roman conditions.

[29] I plan to assemble the abundant material on this point in a forthcoming work.

[30] So Horace, *Sat.*2.1.10–20 and Suet.*Aug.*89.3, under Augustus; Trajan banned his praise on the stage (Pliny, *Pan.*54.2); and so on.

[31] As in the letter of Lucius Verus to Fronto, laying down how he wanted his part in the Parthian War treated (Fronto, Loeb edition, 2, 196).

[32] Dio Cassius 53.19, 53.22.3–4, 54.24.7; Tac.*Ann.*13.51.1, *Hist.*1.1, 4.40; Suet.*Aug.* 36.1; Pliny, *Pan.*20.5.

[33] The material on the *Leges Iuliae de vi publica et privata* is conveniently assembled by B. Biondi in *Acta Divi Augusti*, I (Rome, 1945), 129–40.

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think, right in saying that Rome, i.e., the upper classes, never had absolute freedom of thought again after Philippi.[34]

Under the bad rulers, volunteer informers flourished, and amateur *agents provocateurs* laid traps for the unwary in the hope of financial reward, but apart from this not always trustworthy group of scoundrels there seems to have existed a web of imperial agents. Since the personnel for this net was largely detached for the purpose from military units, its existence is not always clear, and its strength probably fluctuated greatly; but I doubt that it was ever completely dispersed even by mild rulers. Under the efficient or "good emperors" of the second century, at the latest, a nucleus for the secret police was established in the form of the detested *frumentarii;* both good rulers like Hadrian and poor ones like Caracalla are reported to have been quite interested in the activities of their major subjects as reported by these *frumentarii.* The agency was abolished by Diocletian, to the universal rejoicing of the Empire; but just as OGPU gave way to NKVD, so the Roman emperors soon set up a new, even more carefully organized spy system in the *agentes in rebus.*[35]

The activities of the secret police are not often noted by our historians, nor are its methods fully revealed; but this silence proves little beyond caution. We are told that the soldiers detailed for the purpose sometimes wore civilian clothes. Epictetus warns against casual conversations in Rome:

> A soldier, dressed like a civilian, sits down by your side, and begins to speak ill of Caesar, and then you too, just as though you had received from him some guarantee of good faith in the fact he began the abuse, tell likewise everything you think, and the next thing is—you are led off to prison in chains.[36]

Another engaging story is reported by Philostratus. When his hero, Apollonius, came to Rome, he lodged at an inn near a city gate. Here he and his comrades met a drunken fellow with a smooth voice, hired by some unspecified source to go about Rome singing Nero's songs. "Anyone who neglected to listen to him or refused to pay him for his music, he had the

[34] Although Philostratus is always to be suspected of exaggeration, his remark in *Apollonius* 8.7 (p. 321 Kayser) certainly has its modern corroboration: "To live in a city, where there are so many eyes to see and so many ears to hear things which are and which are not, is a serious handicap for anyone who desires to play at revolution, unless he be wholly intent upon his own death. On the contrary it prompts prudent and sensible people to walk slowly even when engaged in wholly permissible pursuits."

[35] Theodor Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht* (Leipzig, 1899), pp. 297–322; Otto Hirschfeld, "Die Sicherheitspolizei im römischen Kaiserreich," *Sitzungsberichte Berlin Akad.* Hist.-Phil. Klasse, 1893, 421–41; Otto Fiebiger *s.v. frumentarii* in *PW* (1912); P.K. Baillie Reynolds, "The Troops Quartered in the Castra Peregrinorum," *Journal of Roman Studies,* XIII (1923), 168–89.

[36] Epictetus, *Disc.*4.13.5; cf. Tac.*Hist.*1.85.

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right to arrest for violating Nero's majesty."[37] Though the story may be fabricated, the atmosphere scarcely could be entirely fictitious.

Though we may believe that this police was not as efficient as the various Gestapos of our modern, advanced civilization, we can still see some of the same methods. Going out at night, at least in some places and at some times, required a special permit. Again, we have references to arrests by night, when men's energies are lowest. The islands of the Aegean, like the Lipari Islands under Mussolini, were probably never empty of exiles from the days of Augustus. The chances, moreover, of escaping the imperial dragnet do not seem to have been very good, judging from the cases reported. One Rubrius Fabatus, who tried to flee from Rome to the Parthians under Tiberius, got no farther than the Straits of Messina before being caught and dragged back by a centurion; Dio Cassius reports at length the efforts of Sextus Quintilius Condianus to go "underground" in the reign of Commodus, and adds that though no man knew whether or not he was slain in the chase he never turned up again.[38]

In blunt truth the *princeps* was a ruler of unrestrained power, so long as the expression of that power, the army, supported him; and his only limits were those he might impose on himself through his own nature or through outside encouragement.[39] Nevertheless the emperors tried, in the main, to make the situation as comfortable as possible for their subjects and to mask the truth; the formalities of the court came only slowly into the Roman Empire, and then often against the will of the ruler. Most emperors allowed a wide freedom of speech as long as their position was not endangered. It was possible, for instance, to state quite bluntly that areas added to the Roman Empire lost their liberty and were enslaved.[40] It was usually possible to accuse earlier rulers of being despots and masters over slaves. It was often permitted to sigh for the old Republic and to intimate more or less directly that liberty was dead. But rarely was it advisable for a prominent writer or orator to accuse the current emperor of being a despot or to dilate on his own position of slavery.

[37] Philostratus, *Apollonius* 4.39 (p.158 Kayser); Apollonius bought him off. In 7.27 (p.282 Kayser) stool pigeons appear in prison.

[38] Dio Cassius 72.6 (cf. *SHA vita Commodi* 4.9). Fabatus: Tac. *Ann.* 6.14.3–4. Night police: Epictetus, *Disc.*3.12.15; Philo, *In Flaccum* 111 (with notes of Box *ad loc.*). Night arrest: Tac. *Ann.*2.40.4; Herodian 1.9.8, 2.1.5–7; Philo, *In Flaccum* 110–15.

[39] Marcus Aurelius so exhorted himself not to become Caesarified, *Med.*6.30, cf.1.17.3. The speech of Maecenas in Dio is in my opinion at once a revelation of how autocratic the imperial system could be and an attempt to persuade the ruler to limit himself voluntarily; so too Seneca, *De clementia,* and frequently elsewhere. Wirszubski, pp. 124–53, has an interesting analysis of the troubles in the first century after Christ as revolving about the effort to limit the ruler and rightly points out the significance of clemency as opposed to justice.

[40] So Tacitus frequently (*Agricola* and *Germania* passim; *Hist.*2.17, 4.17, 67, etc.); Josephus, *B.I.* 2.355–90 (Agrippa's speech); Dio Cassius 54.24.3, 56.14.4, 62.3–6 (Boadicea); etc.

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Nor, quite apart from the question of safety in such a stand, is it likely that the average person in the Roman Empire wished to proclaim himself a slave, and so to destroy his own self-respect. The result of this human desire for what we may term self-deception, when coupled with the mild sway of many rulers, led to an interesting development of imperial political theory. It was impossible to deny that the ruler really was an autocrat, but it was possible to embellish this statement with either of two elaborations.

The first, and more direct, was to add to the admission of autocracy "and a good thing too." Democracy, as the rule of the masses, had rarely been praised by Republican thinkers; in the Roman Empire men generally distrusted the judgment of the people, called them easily swayed, and otherwise delivered many of the stock arguments against the democratic system. Appian, for instance, interjects after the word democracy the remark "a specious name indeed, but always hurtful." Pliny argues that it is better to serve a *princeps* than "discordant liberty" *(libertas discors);* he clearly would reject the idea that one should take liberty because it *is* discordant. Looking back from Olympian distance in time and attitude, St. Augustine judiciously observed that Augustus deprived the Romans of liberty, "a liberty, indeed, which in their own judgment was no longer glorious, but full of broils and dangers, and which now was quite enervated and languishing."[41]

As the last two citations suggest, one must put this *libertas-demokratia* in its historical context to understand the revulsion felt against it. When the people of the Roman Empire looked back at the bloody death throes of the Republic, they did so with a feeling of horror. Even to such a man as Tacitus the term *libertas* seemed merely a disguise for license and disorder.[42] The insubordination of the armies was a curse which no one wished to see again, and the nonsenatorial elements learned a distrust of the rapacious, quarrelsome senatorial class from the later Republic which carried on down into the Empire.[43] Better by far was it to have the rule of one than of many, if the many were to be the senators or the army.

In the choice between autocracy and the imperial prosperity on the one side and freedom in the Republican sense on the other, the inhabitants of the Roman Empire almost universally chose autocracy. Whenever the autocratic system seemed endangered, as in the last days of Augustus or when Gaius fell desperately sick, the people slumped into blackest fear; only rarely

[41] Appian, *B.C.*4.133; Dio Cassius 44.2, 47.39, 52.14, 53.19.1, 54.6.1, 56.39.5; Pliny, *Pan.* 32.2; Augustine, *De civ. Dei* 3.21. See also the varied attacks of Horace on the mob in *Car.* 1.1.7, 1.35.25, 2.2.17–21, 3.1.1., 3.8.25; *Epp.*1.1.76.

[42] Tac.*Dial.*40.5–6 (Maternus); cf. Dio Cassius 56.39 (Tiberius).

[43] A senator like Pliny could express his relief that a ruler existed to care for the Empire, as in *Epp.*3.20, 4.25, 6.19.

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could rebels gain enough support to upset the current emperor and so introduce the danger of new civil wars. And so, when the senatorial class on the death of Gaius made its most determined and last real effort to get out of what it called slavery, the effort shattered. People and soldiers alike were unwilling to see bloodshed once more in Rome, and the people suspected the purity of the senatorial battle cry *libertas*.[44]

Distrust of democracy led to an acceptance and justification of autocracy, largely on the material plane of order and prosperity. The justification, revolving about the distinction between a tyrant and a just ruler, may be found in many places, but is perhaps nowhere better put than by Seneca the Younger in his essay to Nero entitled *On Clemency*. This philosopher is not entirely happy at the consequences of autocracy and so argues that the emperor is really the servant of the state and must do justice, that humanity is entrusted to the ruler by the immortal gods (1.1.4). Yet he portrays Nero as musing, "I am the arbiter of life and death for the nations; it rests in my power what each man's lot and state shall be" (1.1.2–4); and goes on to say:

> [The emperor] is the bond by which the commonwealth is united, the breath of life which these many thousands draw, who in their own strength would be only a burden to themselves and the prey of others if the great mind of the empire should be withdrawn. . . . Such a calamity would be the destruction of the Roman peace, such a calamity will force the fortune of a mighty people to its downfall. Just so long will this people be free from that danger as it shall know how to submit to the rein; but if ever it shall tear away the rein, or shall not suffer it to be replaced if shaken loose by some mishap, then this unity and this fabric of mightiest empire will fly into many parts [1.4.1–2].

One other elaboration of the essential acceptance of autocracy is interesting in the light of present-day interpretations of the word Democracy. This line of argument agreed that the *libertas-demokratia* of the Republic had been a cover for disorder of the masses and exploitation by the wealthy, so that the world had turned to the *auctoritas* of one person to gain order once more. It then advanced the idea that true liberty lay in the protection of all classes under one person, that the Empire represented the true, the perfect democracy.

The most striking statement of this novel view is in Dio Cassius. After the death of Antony, Octavian is represented as uncertain how to dispose of the Roman state. To help him make up his mind, Dio invents two opposed speeches of Agrippa and Maecenas, which shed more light on the nature of the Empire than any other single source. Agrippa is made to argue for

[44] Josephus, *Ant.* 19.224–28. Cf. Tac.*Ann.*1.4.2, 3.28.2–3; Philo, *Leg.*17, 144; Mattingly, *The Man in the Roman Street,* pp. 92, 96.

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democracy on the basis of the blessings of equality before the law *(isonomia)* and the hatred of monarchy as tyranny. Maecenas proceeds to riddle these arguments. He urges Augustus not to consider specious terms but to put an end to the insolence of the masses by placing public affairs in the hands of the best citizens and himself. So far, except for the emphasis on Augustus' primacy, Maecenas is arguing as a Cicero might have done. But he goes on to say that thus each class will do what it can best do,

> and all will gain the true democracy and the freedom which does not fail. For the boasted freedom of the mob proves in experience to be the bitterest servitude of the best element to the other and brings upon both a common destruction; whereas this freedom of which I speak everywhere prefers for honor the men of prudence, awarding at the same time equality to all according to their deserts, and thus gives happiness impartially to all who enjoy this liberty.[45]

We have another debate before a ruler uncertain what future position to take in the *Life of Apollonius* by Dio's contemporary, Philostratus. This time the debate is before Vespasian, in Alexandria. One philosopher, a certain Euphrates, urges Vespasian to restore democracy. Another, Dion, sounds like a resigned Tacitus; he utters a common belief of the Empire that, even though democracy might theoretically be best, the Romans were too bent by many years of servility to sustain a democracy, but urges Vespasian to let the people choose their form of government. Then comes the hero, Apollonius himself, to sweep away these vain reasonings:

> I do not like to see the human flock perish for want of a shepherd at once just and moderate. For just as a single man pre-eminent in virtue transforms a democracy into the guise of a government of a single man who is best; so the government of one man, if it provides all around for the welfare of the community, is popular government.[46]

A third exponent of these views is to be found in Aelius Aristides, who delivered a great oration at Rome about A.D. 144 on the subject of Rome itself. The Empire in this speech is clearly visualized as an autocracy, which is better than the conventional democracy, for the emperor maintains justice for all and gives the people all it asks. If injustice creeps in, one may appeal to him. Alone of all empires, the Roman Empire rules over free men, for the individual rights of property, life, and marriage are sacred. Aristides triumphantly asks if such a system is not better than any democracy, in which there is no appeal from the people; yet he later goes on:

[45] Dio Cassius 52.14.3–5.

[46] The debate, 5.32–37; Apollonius' views are in 5.35 (p. 194 Kayser). On the practical impossibility of democracy, Josephus, *Ant.*19.162, 225; Tac.*Hist.*1.16 (Galba).

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no one is a stranger who is worthy of office or trust, but a common democracy of the earth has been set up under one man, the best, as ruler and orderer; and all come together as in a common marketplace, each to receive what is worthy of him.[47]

The concept that the Roman Empire is the perfect democracy because it gives each what is his due is one of the most original in the political thought of the Empire, and appears to be a direct reaction to imperial conditions. Hints of the concept may be found in the first century in such phrases as Philo's remark that Augustus was "the distributor to every man of what was suited to him," and its roots may well go back into the Hellenistic period, even though we cannot detect them.[48] Yet, on the whole the idea does not seem to come to full flower until the second century, when it appears in Aelius Aristides; for the presuppositions necessary to its development were not fully matured until the era of the Good Emperors.

One essential presupposition was the distrust of the Republican system which has already been noted, for the depreciation of one sense of *libertas* tended to elevate the other significance of the term as purely personal private freedom—and in this sense liberty was quite consonant with any form of government. Another root—and the most important—lies in the second-century interpretation of the Empire as social justice, which is emphasized by all three of the writers who talk of the perfect democracy. Aided by the humanitarian spirit of the second-century rulers, the thinkers of this period tended to view the emperor as justice and law personified. While he gave due attention and scope for action to the upper classes so that they had no excuse for indolence, the ruler yet protected the masses from exploitation by the men of power and influence.[49] The legislation of the Antonines and Severi bears out this praise in its attention to slaves, orphans, tenant farmers, and others; the schemes for supporting young boys and girls *(alimentatio)* are well known. The coins of the second century attest that this economic activity was associated with the idea of liberty.[50]

The elaboration of this view of the Empire seems to stem from the provinces rather than from Rome itself, for the rise of the equation Em-

[47] Aristides, *To Rome,* 60; cf. also 23, 30–33, 36, 38, 90.

[48] Philo, *Leg.*147. The evidence adduced by Larsen, *Class. Phil.,* XL, 88–91, shows that Hellenistic authors could equate democracy and oligarchy, but only in *opposition* to monarchy. It may be noted that the imperial concept of the perfect democracy is not the same as the Polybian view of Rome as a mixed constitution; Aristides and the others do not argue that the people have a voice in this democracy, nor are they interested in any way in the legal fictions of the *lex de imperio.*

[49] Dio Cassius 52.19.3–4, 52.26, 52.37.6–7; Philostratus, *Apollonius* 5.36 (p. 196 Kayser); Aristides, *To Rome,* 39, 66, "So the political system at present has at once the approval of and defends the interest of poor as of the rich."

[50] Mattingly, *The Man in the Roman Street,* p. 75; *BMC Roman Empire* 3, lxxvii–iii; cf. Pliny, *Pan.*27.1.

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pire=Justice to the limelight would appear to reflect the rise of the provinces to that position of essential equality which they gained by the time of Hadrian. It is perhaps not accidental that the further step of considering the Empire a perfect democracy because it assured economic and social justice may be found in the writings of men like Aelius Aristides, Philostratus, and Dio Cassius—all Greek-speaking representatives of the broadly imperial rather than the narrowly Roman point of view.

The emphasis on justice, however, must not be construed so as to include equality in the modern sense. In one light the drive of the Empire was to protect and raise the lower elements of society while cutting down the aristocracy, but as Dio suggested in the speech of Maecenas the emperor was also to give due attention to the upper classes; and there can be no doubt that the class system, based on wealth, was not destroyed by the Empire. All the upper elements of society agreed with Pliny when he wrote a provincial governor that "to level and confound the different orders of mankind is far from producing an equality among them; it is, in truth, the most unequal thing imaginable."[51] The true democracy, as envisioned by Aristides, was so because *each* class was given what it deserved.

In this respect the perfect democracy was quite in keeping with and perhaps grew out of the old senatorial concept of liberty as dependent upon the authority of an upper class pre-eminent in dignity.[52] As expressed by Cicero and others, the authority necessary for the "true" democracy of the Roman Republic was that of the Senate, but supporters of the emperors might contend this authority had proved wanting and had justly been replaced by the authority of the *princeps*. If *auctoritas* was the main requirement for *libertas,* one could still be said to have that liberty. Certainly Augustus had heavily stressed his authority and had yet argued the old Roman system was still in existence. This argument Dio Cassius tends to accept in an interesting passage where the word *demokratia* carries the two distinct meanings we have already noted for *libertas:*

> by combining monarchy with democracy he preserved their freedom for [the Romans] and at the same time established order and security, so that they were free alike from the license of a democracy and from the insolence of a tyranny, living at once in a liberty of moderation and in a monarchy without terrors; they were subjects of royalty, yet not slaves, and citizens of a democracy, yet without discord.[53]

[51] Pliny, *Epp.*9.5; cf. Dio Cassius 52.19, 52.26; Aristides, *To Rome,* 59.

[52] So Cicero, *De Rep.*1.43, says of the Greeks, *"ipsa aequabilitas est iniqua, cum habet nullos gradus dignitatis."* A man like Tacitus disliked only the fact that the senators and the emperors no longer stood on the same level, but some one was above the senators (cf. *Ann.*1.4.1). Pliny did his best to circumvent this truth in *Pan.*2.4, 24.5, 51.4, and so on.

[53] Dio Cassius 56.43.4.

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The common emphasis on the ruler as the Father, which probably betrays all kinds of psychological maladjustment among the Romans of the Empire, seems to be at once an admission and explanation of this authority.

Adherents of the old senatorial claims, and Republicans generally, obviously could not have accepted the idea that if authority lay in the hands of the ruler the Empire thereby enjoyed liberty; for that liberty was now a privilege resting on the ruler's clemency rather than a right founded on law. In reality the emergence of the idea of perfect democracy marks the definitive breakdown of any real belief in political freedom, as well as of the old senatorial concepts, which is evident in the second century after Christ; the arguments of a man like Aelius Aristides sound outlandish to us. So would they have appeared to Cicero, who wrote of "liberty, which does not lie in having a just lord, but in having none."[54]

In the elimination of the old senatorial view of the Republic the rulers were supported by the people of the Empire. To them political liberty had meant, even in Rome of the Republic, little beyond personal security. During the first century B.C. there had been little security, and the people were quite happy to regain it under the Empire. To do so they gave up not their private freedom, but public freedom, which was not so much theirs as that of the upper classes. Even in the Republic liberty had actually involved the rule not of the people but for the people; now the power rested in different hands, but care for the people's security was, if anything, increased.

As we have seen, some people in the Empire still felt it necessary to pay lip service to old shibboleths like *libertas* and *demokratia* even though they distorted their meaning beyond the recognition of a Cicero or a Pericles. When an emperor commands his senators to resume their liberty, when an orator chants that a common democracy of the earth has been set up under one man, the terms have lost the meaning they had had under the Republic or in the great days of Athens—and despite many serious differences that meaning was akin to our usage today. Still, the terms had to be used in the Empire, just as they must be used today by people who cannot give them the significance they have regained in the modern world. The method of employment is much the same in both eras: all political meaning is boiled off and replaced by the weak syrup of social and economic justice. The perfect democracy of the Roman Empire was in a sense the abdication of the ideal before the material; the saddening fact is that people were almost universally ready to accept this state of affairs and at most only tried to camouflage to their own hearts the full nature of their autocracy.

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[54] Cicero, *De Rep.* 2.43.

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Empress Auguste Victoria and the Fall of the German Monarchy*

ANDREAS DORPALEN

OF the three empresses whom Imperial Germany knew during its short-lived existence, two have long engaged the interest of historians. Both of them, Augusta, the wife of William I, and Victoria, the wife of Frederick III, have been frequent subjects of historical investigation because of their efforts to influence, directly or indirectly, the course of Prusso-German politics. On the other hand, Auguste Victoria, the first wife of William II, has never received such attention. Depending on their tastes, historians have considered her too tactful or too dull to play any role in the politics of the Wilhelminian era. Whenever they have conceded her a footnote in their discussions, they have pictured her as a model wife and mother who kept meticulously to her housewifely duties.[1] (Not infrequently there is a suggestion that such virtues, by definition, exclude any manifestation of political interest.)

An examination of the available evidence does not bear out this estimate of the last German empress. Rather, it makes it clear that Auguste Victoria, just because of her wifely and motherly devotion, did not keep as aloof from politics as is generally assumed. It reveals her as becoming, eventually, a factor of some significance in the political councils of Wilhelminian Germany, though perhaps more by force of circumstance than by design. In fact, her influence appears to have been of definite consequence during the last years of World War I. And the role she played during the closing days of the monarchy was fateful indeed.

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[1] Recently Hans W. Gatzke, *Germany's Drive to the West* (Baltimore, 1950), p. 57 n. 228, has questioned this generally accepted estimate. See also L. Bergsträsser in *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLXXI (1951), 656.

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To be sure, Auguste Victoria was not political-minded in the sense that she took a continued interest in politics. She never had had, in her youth, the cultural and intellectual opportunities of either of her predecessors. Augusta, a princess of Saxe-Weimar, had grown up in the stimulating atmosphere of Goethe's Weimar. Victoria, the daughter of Prince Albert and Queen Victoria, had spent her most impressionable years in London, nerve center of a world-wide empire. Auguste Victoria's youth, on the other hand, had been exceptionally quiet and sheltered. She was the daughter of that unlucky pretender, Duke Frederick of (Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-) Augustenburg, who on the basis of old hereditary claims had tried to secure the rule over the two duchies of Schleswig and Holstein after the death of King Frederick VII of Denmark in 1863. Having failed in his efforts, Duke Frederick had withdrawn to his Silesian estates to lead the quiet life of a country squire. There the young girl grew up in an atmosphere of rural conservatism, far removed from the political and intellectual currents of the day. Her education was entrusted to a Protestant minister who nurtured in her that deep religiosity which was to comfort her throughout her life. Beyond that, however, she seems to have received no more than the conventional instruction in the basic scholastic disciplines.[2]

Thus, lacking the educational background and the intellectual acumen of both her predecessors, Auguste Victoria never acquired an intimate knowledge of the deeper complexities of political problems. Except for the war years, her political interests were spontaneous, evoked intermittently by considerations of family interest or prestige, religious scruples, or personal likes or dislikes. Nor did she develop a conscious "ideology" as, for example, Empress Victoria, who hoped to see Prussia-Germany model its political views and institutions after those of Britain. Unlike her two predecessors she was, if anything, a stout defender of the status quo. "In so far as she took any interest in public affairs," Prince Bülow noted, "her point of view was that of an orthodox Protestant Conservative with instinctive leanings towards the Agrarian party as the most reliable supporters of the Throne and the Church."[3] She thus felt most at home with those who constituted the traditional environment of the Berlin court. Her conformity with her entourage accounts for the scant attention she received in the memoirs and reminiscences of courtiers and other intimate observers. Blending perfectly

[2] *Extra-Nummer der Illustrierten Frauen-Zeitung anlässlich der Vermählung Seiner Königlichen Hoheit des Prinzen Wilhelm von Preussen mit Ihrer Hoheit der Prinzessin Auguste Victoria zu Schleswig-Holstein,* Berlin, 1881, Hohenlohe Hausarchiv, Langenburg, Württemberg (Parcel No. 10); Paul Lindenberg, *Kaiserin Auguste Viktoria* (Berlin, 1933), pp. 46–61.

[3] *Memoirs of Prince von Bülow* (Boston, 1931–32), I, 306.

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into her environment, she offered little subject matter for the memoir-writer. She herself was, moreover, careful to avoid any impression of "political meddling." If she discussed political matters at all, she did so only with her intimates, and even with these she would observe the utmost discretion.[4] She was all the more reserved as William II discouraged any open display of political interest on her part. As he told Bülow, he never forgot that his father's home had been dominated by his mother. He for his part was determined to avoid any such stigma, and he insisted on keeping his "chicken coop" under control.[5] Thus Auguste Victoria struck many observers, even in later years, as completely unpolitical. At the same time they gained the impression of a rather strained relationship between husband and wife which seemed to preclude any influence of the latter on the kaiser.[6]

Actually the relationship of William II and Auguste Victoria was much more complex. In the case of as high-strung a personality as William this could not be otherwise. Behind the façade of the saber-rattling soldier, the "Admiral of the Atlantic," the "providential" leader of the German nation hid a human being often unsure of himself, wavering in his moods, easily discouraged and even intimidated. Like most victims of such psychological difficulties, he resented advice and criticism, at least if voiced in the presence of others.[7] On the other hand, he unfailingly sought the support of a stronger character when difficulties arose. Auguste Victoria, far simpler in her psychological make-up and hence emotionally much more stable, had that strength, and the stability of her personality gave the relationship between the two its securest foundation. At the same time it made the empress his ultimate confidante in times of crisis. Rarely needed at first, she was called upon with increasing frequency after the *Daily Telegraph* crisis,[8] until she began to

[4] *Ibid.*, I, 523. See also note 54 below.

[5] Bülow, I, 289; Fürst Philipp zu Eulenburg-Hertefeld, *Aus fünfzig Jahren* (n.p., 1923), pp. 219–20.

[6] Marie von Bunsen, *Lost Courts of Europe* (New York, 1930), p. 243; Graf Robert Zedlitz-Trützschler, *Zwölf Jahre am deutschen Kaiserhof* (Stuttgart, Berlin, and Leipzig, 1923), *passim*.

[7] Otto Hammann, *Um den Kaiser* (Berlin, 1919), p. 3; Heinrich Prinz von Schönburg-Waldenburg, *Erinnerungen aus kaiserlicher Zeit* (Leipzig, 1929), p. 140; Friedrich von Berg, "Aufzeichnungen," unpublished MS (see note *).

[8] In October, 1908, the London *Daily Telegraph* published an interview with William II in which the kaiser, anxious to dispel England's distrust of him, described himself as her sincere friend in contrast to the great majority of his subjects. He cited as evidence of his friendship the fact that during the Boer War he had prevented France and Russia from intervening in favor of the Boers. In addition, he stated, he had sent to the hard-pressed British a strategic plan which, as he implied, had enabled them to defeat the Boers. He also assured his interviewer that the German navy was being built, not in preparation of a war with Britain, but in anticipation of a conflict in the Pacific, presumably with Japan. The kaiser's statements caused an uproar in both Germany and England. In Germany, moreover, there were demands for his abdication and for constitutional amendments giving the Reichstag greater power. In the end, Chancellor Bülow managed to placate the country by obtaining from William the promise that he would use greater discretion in the future. However, in doing so, Bülow, to whom the report on the inter-

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display an initiative of her own during the critical years of the First World War.

Auguste Victoria must have realized at an early stage the complexity of William's nature and the resulting difficulties of their relationship. Early warnings there were enough. William's grandmother, Empress Augusta, congratulating her on the news of her engagement, warned her that he needed much understanding love. She also suggested that it would be the serious and difficult task of his wife to help him understand the true nature of his high office.[9] Dr. Hinzpeter, William's one-time educator, was even more outspoken. After their first meeting he wrote the young bride with what must be deemed remarkable foresight:

> May I tell Your Royal Highness how greatly relieved I went home, convinced that my dearly beloved problem child has had the inestimable fortune to unite himself for life with someone who understands him and sympathizes with his weaknesses. . . . When this man comes home, confused, tired, or embittered—and this is bound to happen often, this woman is going to reassure him, support him, and console him; of this I am certain.[10]

Believing that she would under these circumstances be able to exert a good deal of influence on the future emperor, he tried at once to enlist her help in his efforts to interest William in a systematic study of current social problems.[11]

Evidently Auguste Victoria soon learned to adjust herself to the vagaries which marriage to William involved. She came to understand that there was something of the eternal child in her husband[12]—a feeling shared unwittingly by the entire nation which continued to call William "its young kaiser" long after he had reached middle age.[13] Thus the relationship between emperor and empress soon assumed something of a mother-son relationship, with the empress indulgently overlooking his lack of tact, his impetuosity and need for change and excitement, but proudly proclaiming him the greatest statesman of his time,[14] and insisting by indirection rather than direction that he adhere to certain standards and respect certain values

view had been sent before publication and who had failed to voice any objections, disclaimed any responsibility for the incident—an attitude which the monarch never forgave him. See p. 32 below.

[9] Empress Augusta to Auguste Victoria, Feb. 20, 1880. A copy of this letter by the hand of Prince Hermann zu Hohenlohe-Langenburg, to whom the empress had dictated the original letter, is preserved in the Hohenlohe Hausarchiv at Langenburg, Württemberg (Parcel No. 14).

[10] Dr. Georg Hinzpeter to Auguste Victoria, Feb. 7, 1882, Brandenburg-Preussisches Hausarchiv, Rep. 53a, now in Berliner Hauptarchiv, Berlin-Dahlem.

[11] Same to same, Mar. 18, 1882, *ibid.*

[12] Eulenburg, p. 222. See also Walther Rathenau, *Der Kaiser* (Berlin, 1919), p. 27.

[13] Hammann, pp. 83–85.

[14] See, for example, her letters to Prince Philipp Eulenburg, reprinted in Fürst Philipp zu Eulenburg-Hertefeld, *Mit dem Kaiser als Staatsmann und Freund auf Nordlandsreisen* (Dresden, 1931), esp. I, 101–102, 117–18; also Bülow, I, 304, 309, III, 72.

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which really mattered to her.[15] He, in turn, often tried to elude her straight-laced ways, yet invariably returned to her in his hour of need. Count Zedlitz-Trützschler, for ten years court marshal of the imperial couple, could well wonder why the empress was able to exert any influence on the monarch, although to all appearances William had little respect, let alone love, for his wife.[16] Closer observers recognized the true nature of this partnership. "The emperor displayed a regrettable lack of consideration toward her in minor matters," writes Friedrich von Berg, one of their most trusted confidants in later years, "but she preferred to overlook these slights, knowing his true feelings for her."[17]

Presenting her husband with a child almost every year, the young princess found little time for anything but family matters in her early married life. She did, to be sure, become interested in the controversial Christian Social movement of the court chaplain, Adolf Stöcker, which sought to combine religion and social concern and because of its anti-Semitic overtones acquired a good deal of notoriety. Yet at Bismarck's insistence she soon gave up all open support of the movement, and her continued interest in the chaplain's activities remained devoid of all political significance.[18]

Occasionally she appears to have taken a more active interest in legislation touching on moral or religious problems. She interceded with Chancellor Chlodwig Hohenlohe when the Lex Heinze, a bill aimed at fighting immorality by various kinds of censorship, was pending before the Reichstag, urging him not to tolerate any relaxation of the original provisions.[19] A few times her anti-English prejudices impelled her to abandon her usual reserve in matters of foreign policy.[20] But these were minor incidents, revealing the anything but unusual desire of a person in her position to utilize that position on behalf of causes dear to her heart.

Nor was there anything unusual about her efforts to smooth out difficulties for her husband. In fact it would have been surprising had she not tried to do so. Yet there was much significance in the manner in which she

[15] Zedlitz-Trützschler, pp. 45, 67–68; *Denkwürdigkeiten des General-Feldmarschalls Alfred Grafen von Waldersee* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1922–23), II, 36.

[16] Zedlitz-Trützschler, p. 96.

[17] Berg, *loc. cit.;* also Eulenburg, *Aus fünfzig Jahren,* p. 219; Bülow, I, 304, 306.

[18] Walter Frank, *Hofprediger Adolf Stöcker und die christlich-soziale Bewegung* (Berlin, 1928), pp. 184–89, 220.

[19] Prussian War Minister Heinrich von Gossler to Prince Chlodwig Hohenlohe, Feb. 18, 1900, Hohenlohe to Princess Elise zu Salm-Horstmar, Feb. 19, 1900, Fürst Chlodwig zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Reichskanzlerzeit,* ed. Karl Alexander von Müller (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1931), pp. 562–63.

[20] Bogdan Graf von Hutten-Czapski, *Sechzig Jahre Politik und Gesellschaft* (Berlin, 1936), I, 277; Auguste Victoria to Bülow, summer, 1900, Bülow, I, 460–61.

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justified her intervention on such occasions. Thus she once wrote to Hohenlohe:

> If you[,] dear Prince[,] are willing to help the emperor along . . . I am certain that everything will turn out all right. I have always wanted the emperor to have older more experienced friends who would help here and there with a calm word or good advice. For despite his exceptional gifts—I as his wife may say this with pride, there probably is at present no other monarch in Europe as gifted as he—he is still young, and in his youth one is apt to act spontaneously. . . . You may be surprised about my frankness, but I know I can rely on your discretion.[21]

And on another occasion:

> You know that I do not meddle in politics, but if I see how difficult the ministers are sometimes making things for the emperor, I cannot help trying to smooth things out.[22]

William, in turn, seems to have accepted this motherly concern, and in the privacy of his letters he shared many of his troubles with her.[23] In fact, in some matters, notably of prestige, her word seems to have carried much weight with him.[24]

The disastrous effects of the *Daily Telegraph* crisis, in the fall of 1908, brought to fruition the seeds thus planted in earlier years. Gradually, Auguste Victoria's attitude toward her husband changed. Under the impact of the fury roused by his indiscretions the emperor suffered a nervous breakdown. Bitterly disappointed because his utterances had provoked resentment instead of improving Anglo-German relations, he seriously thought of abdicating. As always when he went through an emotional crisis, he looked to his wife for support and encouragement; as always he found both with her.[25] She had realized the seriousness of the situation much earlier than he and had tried to forewarn him.[26] He had not heeded her warnings, but when the storm broke, he let himself be guided by her. If we are to believe Valentini, the head of his civil cabinet at the time, it was she who dissuaded him from giving up the throne.[27] Whether or not this was so, all observers agreed that

[21] Letter of July 29, 1896, Hohenlohe Hausarchiv, Schillingsfürst, Bavaria, Rep. 100 XXII F 20; see also Waldersee, I, 328, 371.

[22] Letter of May 17, 1896, Hohenlohe, pp. 226–27; see also Auguste Victoria to Bülow, June 16, 1898, Bülow, I, 263.

[23] Auguste Victoria to Hohenlohe, July 22 and 29, 1896, Hausarchiv Schillingsfürst, *loc. cit.*; Hutten-Czapski, I, 294.

[24] Ludwig Raschdau, *Zwischen Bismarck und Caprivi* (Berlin, 1939), p. 263.

[25] Schönburg-Waldenburg, pp. 168–69; Wilhelm von Schoen, *Erlebtes* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1921), p. 127; Bernhard Schwertfeger, *Kaiser und Kabinettschef: Nach eigenen Aufzeichnungen und dem Briefwechsel des Wirklichen Geheimen Rats Rudolf von Valentini* (Oldenburg, 1931), p. 105.

[26] Report of the Württembergian minister to Berlin, Baron Axel von Varnbüler, Nov. 16, 1908, Württembergisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Stuttgart, Gesandtschaftsakten des Ministeriums der Auswärtigen Angelegenheiten, Rep. E 73, Verzeichnis 61, Fasc. 12e II; Theodor Eschenburg, "Die Daily-Telegraph-Affäre," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, CCXIV (1928), 219.

[27] Schwertfeger, p. 105.

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she played a decisive role in restoring the confidence and composure of the monarch.[28]

She did not fully succeed, however. After the *Daily Telegraph* debacle William never quite regained his former self-assurance.[29] As he appeared in greater need of help, the empress gradually abandoned her erstwhile reserve toward political matters. In 1909, for the first time, we learn of her becoming actively interested in matters of high policy. When Bülow was to be dismissed, she tried hard to prevent his dismissal, urging repeatedly that he was irreplaceable as an adviser to the monarch.[30] She failed in her efforts, but she resumed them at various times in later years.

On the other hand, she developed a strong dislike of Bülow's successor, Bethmann-Hollweg. In view of her background and environment, it was of course not surprising that she would look askance upon a man who insisted that Germany could not be governed along Prusso-Conservative lines. William, politically much more experienced than she and personally far more flexible, found it easier to agree with him. Auguste Victoria found his receptivity to Bethmann's policies all the more alarming as the Conservatives, to her mind, seemed in no position to acquaint the monarch adequately with their objections—a feeling which her entourage kept assiduously alive.[31] On occasion, therefore, she felt impelled to urge on kaiser and chancellor the Conservative viewpoint on such matters as taxes and tariffs.[32]

Her opposition to Bethmann's views led her to open interference with his policies shortly after the visit of the British secretary of war, Lord Haldane, to Berlin, in February, 1912. Bethmann, disappointed by the lack of support he received from the emperor in his efforts to reach a settlement with London, had submitted his resignation. To reconcile the chancellor, the emperor had given his consent to the postponement of the implementation of some phases of the naval armament program. However, at the instigation of Admiral von Tirpitz, the navy secretary, Auguste Victoria went personally to Bethmann and demanded the immediate execution of the full program on the ground that Germany's prestige did not permit any concessions to

[28] Varnbüler Report of Dec. 12, 1908, *loc. cit.;* Kronprinz Wilhelm, *Erinnerungen des Kronprinzen Wilhelm,* ed. Karl Rosner (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1922), pp. 20–21.

[29] *Ibid.;* Alfred Niemann, *Kaiser und Revolution* (Berlin, 1922), p. 34.

[30] Schwertfeger, p. 121.

[31] Bülow, I, 288. Official relations between the emperor and the Conservatives, the party of the monarchy *par excellence,* had come to an end when the latter used the *Daily Telegraph* incident to voice cautiously their disapproval of the monarch's many rash and thoughtless statements; Graf Kuno Westarp, *Konservative Politik im letzten Jahrzehnt des Kaiserreichs* (Berlin, 1935), I, 39–50, 350.

[32] Bülow, I, 283, 345, II, 596; Reinhold von Sydow, "Fürst Bülow und die Reichsfinanzreform 1908/09," in Friedrich Thimme, ed., *Front wider Bülow: Staatsmänner, Diplomaten und Forscher zu seinen Denkwürdigkeiten* (Munich, 1931), pp. 115–16; Baron Beyens, *Deux années à Berlin* (Paris, 1931), I, 140–41.

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England. Uncertain of the support of the ever-wavering kaiser, Bethmann gave in. The overjoyed Tirpitz, calling on the empress to thank her, kissed her hand "in the name of Germany."[33]

Here at the same time her Anglophobe inclinations crystallized into open action. It was one of the few matters in which Auguste Victoria had tried, from the early days of their marriage, to exercise a restraining influence on her husband. With many Germans she shared a deep dislike of the English. She looked therefore with a good deal of disfavor on William's frequent and prolonged visits to England. On more than one occasion she tried, directly or indirectly, to keep him from going there or from staying as long as he planned.[34] Similarly she disapproved of Albert Ballin and others who urged upon William a more conciliatory attitude toward England, just as during the war she was a staunch opponent of a negotiated peace with England.[35] Her attitude was not lost on the Pan-Germans who were careful to keep her informed of their plans.[36]

But Auguste Victoria's role in German politics was to unfold fully only during the war years. Weighed down by his enormous responsibilities, finding it increasingly difficult to make the vital decisions which were demanded of him, William thought his gigantic task almost unbearable at times. As the war wore on, year after year, he was faced with the fateful alternative of a negotiated or a "victory" peace. Eventually this question came to be tied up with problems of domestic reforms. When it did, he found himself torn between the efforts of his political advisers who sought to foster his sporadic though undeniable open-mindedness to political reforms and the uncompromising conservatism of both his immediate entourage and the military leaders on whom he became increasingly dependent. Haunted by feelings of inadequacy, William wavered between these two poles of his political world.[37] With increasing frequency he turned to his wife. As always, Auguste Victoria was ready to help and to convey to him some of her strength which was not shaken by uncertainty. William, gratefully, accepted the proffered help. When she was with him, he would pour out his heart to her for hours, and when they were separated, he sought relief in long daily letters to her.[38]

[33] A. von Tirpitz, *Politische Dokumente*, I, *Der Aufbau der deutschen Weltmacht* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1924), pp. 318–25; Theodor Wolff, *Der Marsch durch zwei Jahrzehnte* (Amsterdam, 1936), pp. 249–50.

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 248–49; Hutten-Czapski, II, 134; Bülow, I, 354–55, 460–61, II, 596.

[35] Wolff, pp. 261–62; Bülow, III, 221; Bernhard Huldermann, *Albert Ballin* (London, 1922), p. 211.

[36] Heinrich Class, *Wider den Strom* (Leipzig, 1932), p. 349.

[37] On these day-to-day vacillations of the emperor see Bethmann's notes, reprinted in Otto Braun, *Von Weimar zu Hitler* (New York, 1940), pp. 31–35; also Friedrich Meinecke, *Strassburg, Freiburg, Berlin: 1901–1919* (Stuttgart, 1949), p. 216.

[38] Information from Baron von Lersner and Dr. von Dryander.

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Under the pressure of circumstances, Auguste Victoria began to concern herself more consistently with political matters. Yet her approach to politics remained eclectic, and at no time did she ever truly grasp the complex intricacies of Germany's problems. In terms of practical politics her growing influence favored the military-conservative camp in which she saw the strongest bulwark of the monarchy. The latter, moreover, found it far easier than any other group to communicate its views to her. Faithful to her long-held beliefs, she strove to resolve William's indecision in conformity with her own convictions. In the measure that her influence increased, she worked for the removal of all those of his advisers who did not submit to the demands of the military leaders and their allies in the Conservative party. To the end she looked upon all liberal aspirations as a betrayal of the monarchy, and she considered William's receptivity to such proposals as a regrettable weakness from which he must be protected.

Aware of her changing status, many now turned to her for help. Ludendorff, Bülow, Tirpitz—they all counted on her to bring some influence to bear on William on their behalf. As early as January, 1915, the first two, calling unsuccessfully for reinforcements on the Russian front, tried to enlist her help.[39] Bülow, again, carefully cultivated his contacts with her in the hope that she might help him some day to return to the chancellery.[40] And Tirpitz sought her good offices on behalf of the more active naval warfare he advocated. To achieve this objective, he asked her to help him obtain the dismissal of the chancellor, an outspoken opponent of his plans. In Bethmann's place, Hindenburg, whom the admiral thought more amenable to his views, was to become chancellor with dictatorial powers.[41] He even tried to arrange William's return from army headquarters to Berlin—a move dictated in part at least by the hope that Auguste Victoria would then be in a better position to exert her influence on the monarch. "All who had the honor to know the circumstances intimately," he told her, "centered their hopes on her."[42]

On the whole, the empress could do little for him. Once, in 1915, when Bethmann insisted on greater restraint in the pursuit of the submarine campaign, she arranged a private audience for him with the emperor so that he could present his viewpoint to the monarch.[43] But she was unable to prevent his dismissal a few months later. Nevertheless the admiralty did

[39] Prinz Max von Baden, *Erinnerungen und Dokumente* (Stuttgart, Berlin, and Leipzig, 1928), pp. 79–80.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 305 n. 1; Schwertfeger, pp. 200–201.
[41] Letter of Mar. 27, 1915, Admiral von Tirpitz, *Memoirs* (New York, 1919), II, 322.
[42] Letter of Apr. 21, 1915, *ibid.*, pp. 343–44; also same, *Politische Dokumente*, II, *Deutsche Ohnmachtspolitik im Weltkriege* (Hamburg and Berlin, 1926), pp. 246, 346.
[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 414–17, 431.

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not give up hope that she might ultimately induce the kaiser to resort to unrestricted submarine warfare. The navy leaders continued to try to impress her with the need for such a campaign, warning her that failure to use this weapon would lead to the collapse of country and monarchy.[44] Quite possibly she did help, behind the scenes, to persuade William to decide ultimately in favor of the admirals.

She was more directly successful in her efforts to help Hindenburg obtain wider military powers. She worked for the marshal's appointment to the supreme command of all German and Austrian forces on the eastern front.[45] Later she became an enthusiastic supporter of the plan to entrust him and Ludendorff with the supreme command of all German armies. Personal prejudices as well as politico-military considerations accounted for her opposition to the chief of staff, General von Falkenhayn. The latter was something of a dashing figure, charming and supple—a type for which Auguste Victoria cared little. As a young lieutenant, he had incurred heavy debts, and thanks to the general's numerous enemies, the empress, whose moral code made few allowances for human weakness, had not been left unaware of this youthful mistake. Hindenburg, on the other hand, appealed to her in his dry solid simplicity just as William disliked him for that same reason.[46]

Above all, however, she understood that Hindenburg was the choice of the nation. She realized that the morale of the country required the tonic of his promotion to the supreme command. That it was her duty to enlighten her husband on this state of popular feelings, she had no doubt. She perceived her specific wifely responsibility all the more clearly as she knew that there was an element of jealousy in William's reluctance to appoint Hindenburg, the nation's hero, as Falkenhayn's successor. Nor could she have failed to notice how thoroughly the emperor disliked the brusque, humorless Ludendorff. As his wife she could fight these emotional inhibitions more readily than any outsider.[47] While the replacement of Falkenhayn was under active consideration, she stayed with her husband at imperial headquarters to apply herself to this task.[48] She was likewise present when Hindenburg and Ludendorff were formally entrusted with their new responsibilities.[49]

[44] Captain von Trotha to Tirpitz, Sept. 9, 1916, *ibid.*, p. 574.

[45] Auguste Victoria to Prussian Minister of Agriculture von Schorlemer, July 13, 1916, Braun, pp. 45–46.

[46] Information from Baron von Lersner and Baroness von Spitzemberg. That the strain on their relationship was due to the fact that Hindenburg allowed William II to lose a war game during the imperial maneuvers of 1908, as has often been claimed, has been denied by the marshal. See John W. Wheeler-Bennett, *Wooden Titan: Hindenburg in Twenty Years of German History, 1914–1934* (New York, 1936), p. 5.

[47] Berg, *loc. cit.;* information from Baron von Lersner.

[48] Information from Dr. von Dryander.

[49] Schwertfeger, p. 140.

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To the last days of the war the two men had in her a steadfast supporter and one of their most valuable allies.

They were soon to have proof of this. Serious difficulties developed between the new army command and Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg. Controversies over the future treatment of Poland, the enactment of an auxiliary service law, and the question of unrestricted submarine warfare raised the old problem of the relationship between military and civilian leadership—a question which had already plagued as strong a statesman as Bismarck. Theoretically both sides faced each other as independent equals, while the ultimate decision rested with the emperor. But the ascendancy of the military leaders, aggravated by William's indecision, heightened the complexities of the situation.

Bethmann, originally an enthusiastic supporter of the Hindenburg-Ludendorff appointment,[50] proposed close co-operation. He insisted, however, on the right of ultimate decision in political matters. Yet the military leaders, Ludendorff in particular, strove to subordinate political considerations to military needs and expediency. Aside from this formal question of priorities, the substantive issue at stake was one of basic policy. Bethmann advised a course of moderation, both at home and abroad. He sponsored electoral and parliamentary reforms in both Reich and Prussia to retain the support of the nation and refused to go along with the excessive demands of those advocating large-scale annexations of French, Belgian, and Russian territory. The generals, on their part, clung to their belief in the need for a decisive military victory as the only basis for an acceptable, i.e., an annexationist, peace. This alone, as they saw it, could safeguard Germany's security. They considered Bethmann's proposals of domestic reforms as demoralizing and his more moderate war aims as defeatist. Beginning in January, 1917, they tried to obtain the dismissal of the chancellor, and from April on, to quote Valentini, "hardly a day went by when the supreme command did not launch another arrow against Bethmann."[51]

The struggle between the two camps weighed heavily on the emperor. For months he was being exposed to a barrage of charges against Bethmann on the part of the military. The chancellor, in turn, was able to repel these attacks with an impressive defense of his proposed policies. In the end he succeeded in convincing the monarch of the need for improving the low state of domestic morale and of recognizing the impetus which was given to the demands for domestic reforms by the overthrow of the tsarist regime—

[50] Th. von Bethmann-Hollweg, *Betrachtungen zum Weltkriege* (Berlin, 1919–21), II, 43–47; Bethmann to Valentini, June–July, 1916, Schwertfeger, pp. 229–37.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 152.

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factors which Ludendorff felt he could safely ignore. William conceded him first the principle of secret and direct, and subsequently that of equal, suffrage for Prussia. He also authorized the chancellor to include parliamentarians in both the Reich and Prussian governments. Yet Bethmann was not to enjoy the fruits of his victory. Two days after he had obtained the last concession from the emperor, he was out of office. Taking advantage of a temporary irritation of the leading Reichstag parties against the chancellor, the generals forced William to dismiss Bethmann, threatening for good measure to resign themselves, unless their request were granted.[52]

Auguste Victoria had never been troubled by any doubts as to who should be supported in the struggle between chancellor and supreme command. From the beginning she had been on the side of the generals. She did not hesitate therefore to urge an early decision in favor of the latter. A settlement seemed to her all the more imperative as she knew that the emperor, gravitating between the two camps, was wearing himself out in efforts to mediate between them. Her apprehension that the political reforms proposed by Bethmann might eventually lead to a curtailment of the powers of the monarch confirmed her in her opposition to him. As empress, as wife and mother, she considered it her duty to resist all attempts to weaken the prerogatives of the crown.[53] Like the admiralty, moreover, the army high command strove to enlist her help against Bethmann by hinting that his policies would plunge the country into revolution.[54] Seriously upset by these warnings, she doubled her efforts to dissuade William from accepting Bethmann's proposals. His dismissal meant to her the removal of a dangerous influence on the monarch.[55]

The army leaders did not content themselves with Bethmann's removal. Intent on eliminating from the emperor's entourage anyone not fully in agreement with them, they trained their guns at the same time on Valentini, the head of the kaiser's civil cabinet. Though not uncritical of the chancellor, Valentini was Bethmann's strongest supporter at court. As William's closest

[52] *Ibid.*, pp. 146–67; Bethmann-Hollweg, II, 167–238.

[53] Information from Dr. von Dryander.

[54] Oberst Bauer, *Der grosse Krieg in Feld und Heimat: Erinnerungen und Betrachtungen* (Tübingen, 1921), pp. 131–32, 141. Bauer, who conveyed this warning to her, relates that she refused to inform the emperor on the ground that she never interfered in political matters. It may well have been that she did not want it known publicly—she did not know Bauer well (*ibid.*, p. 132)—that she did discuss political matters with the monarch, a precaution which may have contributed to the general belief that she was completely unpolitical. The fact is that she recalled Bauer for another audience (*ibid.*) and that later she reproached William bitterly for listening to Bethmann's suggestions (Schwertfeger, p. 160). See also her letter to Schorlemer, July 13, 1916, Braun, pp. 45–46: "You know that I do not hesitate to discuss with the emperor such matters [as the question of Hindenburg's appointment as supreme commander on the eastern front]." Cf. Hutten-Czapski, II, 384.

[55] Schwertfeger, p. 160; Berg, *loc. cit.*; information from Baron von Lersner.

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political adviser, he considered it imperative to defend the chancellor against the generals. He was convinced that Bethmann's dismissal would result in a further strengthening of the supreme command at the expense of the crown. He failed in his efforts, but since he continued to oppose the encroachment of the generals upon the monarch's prerogatives, the military leaders kept trying to obtain his dismissal. For a time the emperor refused to listen to these demands, but in the end he was forced to give in. In January, 1918, Valentini, too, had to leave.[56]

As in Bethmann's case, Auguste Victoria wholeheartedly supported the generals. She distrusted Valentini's political attitude as much as that of the chancellor. In this case, her help as well as that of the crown prince was especially welcome since any attack on Valentini had to be handled with a good deal more discretion than an attack on the chancellor. Valentini was a close personal adviser of the emperor, bound to him by ties of special trust and devotion. Empress and crown prince could therefore do the preliminary spadework against him more effectively than any outsider. Thus it was clearly no accident that Auguste Victoria began to treat Valentini with a decided lack of friendliness at the very time at which his support of Bethmann began to attract the unfavorable attention of the supreme command.[57] He roused her ire more directly when he failed, after Bethmann's resignation, to support the candidacy of Bülow who was both her and the army's choice for the chancellorship.[58]

The empress thought her worst suspicions confirmed when Valentini refused to fight the trend toward the gradual democratization and parliamentarization of Reich and Prussia under Bethmann's successors. When Count Hertling became chancellor in November, 1917, after the short-lived chancellorship of Georg Michaelis, he included a leftist parliamentarian in both his Reich and Prussian governments. In the interest of wartime unity the step was undoubtedly wise and probably in any case inevitable. The emperor, at any rate, accepted this concession with good grace.[59] The empress, however, unable to grasp the growing seriousness of the domestic situation, showered Valentini with bitter reproaches. When the latter pointed out that some concessions to the representatives of the nation were advisable and in fact unavoidable, she cried out furiously: "I am prepared to suffer the worst, before I will tolerate that any right of the crown is curtailed." When Valentini replied, in desperation, that he would bless the day when he could lay

[56] Schwertfeger, pp. 153–55, 183–93; Bauer, p. 141; Berg, *loc. cit.*
[57] Schwertfeger, p. 153.
[58] Schwertfeger, p. 200; same, "Fürst Bülow und Rudolf von Valentini," in Thimme, p. 324; Bauer, p. 144.
[59] Richard von Kühlmann, *Erinnerungen* (Heidelberg, 1948), pp. 512–13.

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down the burden of his thankless office, the break between them had become irreparable.[60]

During the following weeks both empress and crown prince intensified their campaign against the head of the civil cabinet. In a stormy interview with his father the prince demanded Valentini's dismissal and may have received a promise to that effect. When Valentini remained, Auguste Victoria's letters to William kept pleading for his removal. She enclosed newspaper clippings in which he was charged with keeping the emperor uninformed about the true military and political situation. When Valentini, to whom the kaiser passed on these articles, inquired whether they expressed the emperor's own views, William replied weakly that they did not. Yet he admitted that both empress and crown prince kept asking for his (Valentini's) dismissal. He assured Valentini that he would never let him go, but, as the latter felt, the monarch was no longer the master of his decisions. In fact, the generals now considered the ground well enough prepared to demand openly Valentini's removal, and in January, 1918, after further attacks on Valentini's integrity by their many allies, they insisted on his dismissal. To save William any further embarrassment, Valentini submitted his resignation.[61]

Friedrich von Berg, a one-time member of the civil cabinet and long a trusted adviser of both emperor and empress, became his successor. An East Prussian landowner, rigidly conservative and deeply convinced of the need for, and the possibility of, an annexationist "victory peace," he also enjoyed the confidence of Hindenburg and Ludendorff. In fact, a close personal friend of Hindenburg, he had been the marshal's choice for the position. Berg, in turn, as Hindenburg's spokesman, had long urged the dismissal of Valentini. With him replacing the latter, the conservative-militarist forces had advanced another step toward their goal of isolating William from all independent advisers. On taking his leave from Berg, Valentini remarked pointedly that he (Berg) would have a much easier job since he could count on the support of the empress, the princes, and Hindenburg and Ludendorff.[62]

Berg, as he relates in his *Aufzeichnungen,* found the help of the empress of inestimable value. At the time he took over his new office, William was suffering another one of his nervous breakdowns. Berg sensed that the monarch felt no longer strong enough to cope with the growing difficulties of the situation. His pride suffered deeply under the dependence on the

[60] Schwertfeger, pp. 182–83, 211.
[61] *Ibid.*, pp. 183–93; Kühlmann, pp. 537–38, 547–48; Berg, *loc. cit.*
[62] Schwertfeger, pp. 153–55, 186; Berg, *loc cit.;* information from Dr. von Dryander.

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army command which circumstances had imposed on him. Unsure of himself, he was especially sensitive to the brusque self-assured ways of Ludendorff who in turn made no secret of his intense dislike of the kaiser's wavering attitude.[63] Without saying so, the emperor seemed to be toying with the idea of abdicating in order to escape the crushing burden of his immense responsibility.

Auguste Victoria shared Berg's fears. All the more she welcomed his appointment in the place of Valentini. Berg could be expected to reject all liberal concessions on the part of the emperor. She promised to give him her full support in his efforts to convert William wholly to the policies of the supreme command. She kept her word. Berg's memoirs leave no doubt about the importance he placed on her help while he strove to improve relations between William and Ludendorff. Realizing that the exigencies of the military situation left no room for personal feelings, she seconded his efforts to bring monarch and general closer together. Significantly, she failed to see that in doing so, she who was so much concerned with the preservation of William's rights, actually urged him to surrender his imperial prerogatives to the army leaders.

Quite possibly the empress also helped Berg to obtain the removal of the last representative of the Bethmann-Valentini school of thought, Richard von Kühlmann. As foreign secretary, Kühlmann had incurred the wrath of the supreme command by differing with the military leaders about the peace terms to be imposed upon the defeated Russians and Rumanians. A smear campaign picturing him as a loose-living man about town had been initiated to undermine his position with Auguste Victoria. The immediate cause of his fall was a Reichstag address in which he had suggested, parenthetically, that the war could no longer be ended by military means alone. The supreme command demanded his head, and Berg made himself its spokesman. As William was very reluctant to part with the capable Kühlmann, it is not unlikely that the empress, who happened to be with her husband at the time, helped to bring about Kühlmann's dismissal.[64]

During the summer of 1918 the military situation deteriorated quickly. After repeated break-throughs of the Allied forces, the army command had to admit that a German military victory had become impossible. Just at this time when the emperor needed her encouragement, the empress suffered a stroke. Early in September, 1918, William himself collapsed completely. Again fears were voiced that the monarch might decide to abdicate. Hardly

[63] On this point see also Kühlmann, pp. 528–29.
[64] Berg, *loc. cit.;* Kühlmann, pp. 563–64, 572–80.

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recovered herself, the empress rushed to his bedside. She succeeded in giving him new strength and confidence.[65] Yet much as he sought her counsel in those days, in one point he proved adamant. Trying to ease the burden which threatened to crush him, she suggested, as she had done so often, that he reappoint Bülow as chancellor to replace the aged and tired Count Hertling. Bülow, she was convinced, was the one man with sufficient prestige in Europe who might be able to liquidate the war on tolerable terms. But Bülow's cavalier treatment of William during the *Daily Telegraph* crisis, when he had failed to admit his share of the responsibility for the incident, kept rankling in the kaiser's mind, and the empress' efforts remained unsuccessful.[66]

When the change in the chancellorship occurred, early in October, 1918, Auguste Victoria was not a party to it. The change came as a result of the demand of the supreme command for an immediate armistice. It was combined with far-reaching political reforms which transformed the German Empire from a constitutional into a parliamentary monarchy. For the first time, moreover, a number of Socialists were taken into the government. These measures were to facilitate the foremost task of the new government—the conclusion of an armistice and peace treaty on the best possible terms.

If given a chance, Auguste Victoria would have advised against the appointment of the new chancellor, Prince Max of Baden. Her conservative entourage opposed him as too weak, too cosmopolitan, too un-Prussian.[67] Accepting this estimate of the prince, the empress feared that Max would become the tool of the "radical-dominated" government. She urged Berg, who had at once offered his resignation, to remain with the emperor. For she was desperately afraid that William might come too much under the influence of the left, and she saw in Berg the only person strong enough to act as a brake on any such inclination. She warned him in bitter seriousness that she would never forgive him, were he to leave the emperor in this critical hour.[68]

But Berg was not to remain much longer as head of the civil cabinet. In his first audience with the kaiser, Prince Max demanded the dismissal of Berg, whom he knew as a bitter foe of him and his government. He suggested the reappointment of Valentini, and the monarch, on learning that it would meet with the approval of the generals, appeared to agree readily. "I came away from my talk with the emperor," the prince wrote, "with the

[65] Berg, *loc. cit.*
[66] Hutten-Czapski, II, 504–505; see also note 8 above.
[67] Berg, *loc. cit.;* Niemann, pp. 73–74; Max von Baden, pp. 336–37.
[68] Niemann, *loc. cit.;* Berg, *loc. cit.*

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confident impression that he wanted to co-operate loyally with the parliamentary government."[69]

Loyal co-operation of a monarch with a parliamentary government reduces him more or less to the status of a figurehead. To such an emasculation of the monarchy Auguste Victoria was unalterably opposed. Little schooled politically, she failed to comprehend the true significance of the constitutional changes. While the chancellor was congratulating himself upon the prospect of a smooth collaboration with the emperor, the empress emerged as a new and unexpected opponent. She fought the reappointment of Valentini with a determination which showed how much she had changed. She threw the whole weight of her personality into this struggle which she considered decisive. With the dismissal of Berg her world seemed to be breaking down. When he came to take his leave, he found her in tears: "This is the end; now I have no more hope." Evil forces appeared to be triumphing over an order of things which in her simple religiosity she had always accepted as divinely ordained. Berg, she felt, might have averted this disaster; without him, William would be the helpless victim of the chancellor and his associates. It was an unbearable thought to her to see Valentini reappointed to his former position at a time when the emperor had to be prevented from making any further concessions to the left. She was certain that Valentini could not and would not fulfill this task. Once more she turned to Berg, urging him to prevent the recall of Valentini. In the end William gave in. Instead of Valentini, Clemens von Delbrück, a former secretary of the interior, was appointed.[70]

Berg, however, did not remove himself completely from the political stage. He reports that he was asked by members of the kaiser's entourage to remain in Berlin as an unofficial adviser to the monarch, and he acceded readily. Doubtless the empress welcomed this decision. The question of abdication was just becoming a subject of public discussion, and while Auguste Victoria considered such a step out of the question,[71] she feared that William might be persuaded to take it since he had toyed with the idea on earlier occasions. Berg, the trusted confidant, could be counted upon to talk him out of any such plan.

The problem of abdication gained in significance when, in the course of an exchange of notes between Berlin and Washington, President Wilson hinted, on October 14, 1918, that William's abdication might bring forth more favorable peace terms. Another note, on October 23, was no clearer on this

[69] Max von Baden, pp. 378–79.
[70] Berg, *loc. cit.;* Max von Baden, p. 387; Schwertfeger, p. 214.
[71] Letter of Ballin, Oct. 25, 1918, Huldermann, p. 285.

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point, but very explicit on Wilson's fear that the measures taken so far did not give full assurance that the Reichstag would always retain the ultimate control of German politics. While the chancellor strove to reassure the president by speeding up the formal enactment of the required constitutional amendments, the demand for abdication grew. The feeling gained ground among the war-weary masses that only the person of the kaiser prevented the conclusion of an early armistice.

Prince Max realized that the demand was growing too strong to be ignored any longer. Information received from abroad convinced him, moreover, that if Germany was to get more lenient peace terms, the abdication of the emperor and the renunciation of all claims to the throne by the crown prince were indeed unavoidable. If, on the other hand, this latter information should prove incorrect and the abdication fail to produce better terms, the nation could be called upon for a last stand in defense of the country only if it were convinced that the harshness of the terms was not caused by William's remaining on the throne. This again could be proved only if the monarch abdicated. The chancellor hoped to suggest this necessity to the emperor through two intermediaries who had long been close to the imperial family. When these declined to act, he decided, on October 29, to call on the monarch himself. Time was of the essence; the step would be humiliating, if forced on the kaiser by the pressure of popular demand. In the interest of the monarchy as well as his own, it had to be taken while it would still have the appearance of a voluntary decision.

To his amazement Max learned that the emperor was planning to leave for the front that very night. The chancellor pleaded with him over the telephone not to leave at this critical moment when his presence was much more urgently needed in the capital. But William refused to change his plans, claiming that the supreme command wished him to come. Max's request for an immediate audience was likewise denied on the ground that the prince was just recovering from an attack of grippe and that the monarch was afraid to risk infection. That same night the kaiser left without having seen the chancellor.[72]

In his memoirs Prince Max raises the question as to why the emperor had decided to return to the front despite the chancellor's urgent pleas. He had found out meanwhile that the supreme command had been very much surprised by the sudden departure of the monarch.[73] Another explanation

[72] Max von Baden, pp. 404–529; Harry R. Rudin, *Armistice 1918* (New Haven, 1944), pp. 221–31.

[73] Hindenburg, it is true, had had his wish conveyed to the emperor on October 29 that the monarch come and visit the front-line troops (Alfred Niemann, *Revolution von oben—Umsturz von unten* [Berlin, 1928], pp. 213–14), but had obviously not expected the immediate fulfillment of this wish. See also note 81 below.

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which was circulated at the time stated that the minister of war had declared himself unable to guarantee the kaiser's personal safety at his Potsdam residence. The minister denied later that he had ever made such a statement. As a matter of fact, the empress remained in Potsdam. "Both explanations, then, were untrue. Today I have only one explanation: The plan had been carefully prepared and quickly carried out by someone who wanted to remove the emperor from Berlin at any price."[74]

Prince Max's suspicion was correct. Many members of the kaiser's entourage, among them the empress herself, had watched with growing alarm William's readiness to adjust himself to the changing conditions and accept the curtailment of his prerogatives. Would he not in the end give in even to the demand for abdication? The faithful Berg was asked to talk to the monarch. On October 16, he called on William and for an hour exhorted him not to listen to any suggestion of abdication.[75] But more had to be done. Delbrück, the new head of the civil cabinet, thought of proposing the dissolution of the Reichstag and the replacement of Prince Max with another chancellor who would defend the emperor with greater determination. It is unlikely that this plan ever had any chance of success; since Berg considered it impractical and the empress was never informed of it, their subsequent actions forced Delbrück to drop it.[76] Major Niemann, the army representative with the emperor, thought that the emperor should turn to the nation himself, arousing it as he had done at the outbreak of the war. Niemann appealed to the empress. He knew that Auguste Victoria had been affected emotionally much more by Wilson's demands than the monarch. He suggested to her that she persuade the emperor to go before the people. Auguste Victoria welcomed the plan and promised to pass it on to her husband, but she doubted its feasibility. She was convinced that the chancellor, in whom she saw by now a mere tool of the Socialist members in his government, lacked the courage and strength to protect the emperor.[77]

As a matter of fact, for very different reasons, Prince Max did reject all such suggestions. William asked him to publish a recent welcome address to the new members of the government in which he had pledged himself to work loyally for the implementation of the political reforms, and a decree to the same effect which was to accompany the promulgation of the con-

[74] Max von Baden, pp. 529–30. Historians, too, have wondered about the real reasons for William's sudden departure. See, for example, Adolf Stutzenberger, *Die Abdankung Kaiser Wilhelms II.* (Berlin, 1937), p. 109.

[75] Berg, *loc. cit.*

[76] Information from Dr. von Dryander.

[77] Niemann, *Kaiser und Revolution*, p. 101.

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stitutional amendments. Both statements were to reassure the nation concerning the monarch's good faith and thus to strengthen the ties of loyalty and confidence between ruler and people. But Max refused. He found it unwise to draw the attention of nation or enemy powers to the person of the kaiser and to statements which so conspicuously ignored the abdication issue. He also felt that if the renunciation of the throne should become unavoidable, its voluntary character could be maintained more easily without this last attempt to reconcile public opinion with William's remaining on the throne.[78]

Meanwhile the demand for abdication assumed ever more threatening proportions. On October 25, Berg talked once more to William, pleading with him not to give up the throne under any circumstances. The emperor promised him to stand fast, but Berg was no longer certain that he would be able to keep his promise. "Someone with a firm will had to stand behind him, otherwise he was lost." In the end, Berg felt, it would be best if the emperor went to the army; there he would perhaps be "protected from himself." He therefore suggested that the kaiser leave for the front.[79]

As so often before, Auguste Victoria fully agreed with him. She too had come to understand that the demand for abdication had become a reality which could no longer be ignored. She still refused to accept the need for abdication, but inquiries of her own brought answers which were far from reassuring.[80] Knowing how easily William might change his mind, especially if his imagination were aroused on behalf of some great cause such as the future happiness of the German nation, she too came to the conclusion that the emperor must be removed from the influence of Prince Max. She agreed with Berg that the emperor would be safest with the supreme command. Her faith in Hindenburg was unshaken; she was certain that the old marshal would protect his monarch against all pernicious influences and reject any idea of abdication. She too urged William to leave. Her pleas were successful, and when Berg returned to Potsdam on October 29 to assure himself that the emperor would leave, William's departure had already been scheduled for that same day. Hindenburg's wish that the emperor show himself to the troops provided the official reason for his trip.[81]

It was this decision which sealed the fate of the German monarchy. The attitude of the principal actors in this drama suggests that had the emperor

[78] Max von Baden, pp. 473–74, 525–26, 535.
[79] Berg, *loc. cit.*
[80] Georg Michaelis, *Für Staat und Volk* (Berlin, 1922), pp. 397–98.
[81] Information from Dr. von Dryander; Berg, *loc. cit.;* Niemann, *Revolution von oben,* pp. 213–14, 371. Baron von Grünau, a foreign office representative with the kaiser, suggests that Hindenburg's request may have been prompted by a third party (*ibid.,* pp. 437–38).

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stayed in the capital, Prince Max would quite possibly have persuaded him to abdicate in time. Far removed from Berlin, William proved impervious to all further suggestions of the chancellor. The military leaders would not hear of abdication. Letters from the empress kept urging him to remain firm. "About the Emperor," wrote one of her ladies-in-waiting to a friend, "I hope and pray he will be firm, and won't abdicate; they were quite resolved to be firm, and the Empress told me to say everywhere that she stands firm."[82] Auguste Victoria even asked the chancellor to publish the address and decree, publication of which William had requested in vain a few days earlier.[83] She cannot possibly have agreed with the conciliatory tenor of the two statements which accepted the parliamentary regime so readily, but she knew that the time for such objections had passed. Her efforts were in vain; she could not save the throne for William. Worse, her opposition to Prince Max helped to frustrate the latter's attempts to preserve the throne for the Hohenzollern dynasty, if not for William. Thus she shares the responsibility for the aggravation of the crisis which finally drove the war-weary masses to abolish the monarchy altogether.

In the end she even had to face the bitter task of persuading William to sign the abdication document. There had been an attempt on the part of the newly created Council of People's Commissars to permit the empress to join her husband in his Dutch exile only after he had formally given up his royal and imperial rights. Such a bargain was apparently never concluded,[84] but it may well be that a—possibly unspoken—gentlemen's agreement to that effect was reached. In an unpublished memorandum recording the events of the day of the proclamation of the republic and after, the secretary to the empress, Baron Hugo von Spitzemberg, relates that the empress was asked, on her way to Holland, to exert her influence on the kaiser and induce him to sign the instrument of abdication. However, she was spared this bitter task; William signed the document a few hours before she arrived.[85]

In one sense, however, her departure for Holland set the final seal on the collapse of the monarchy. Had she remained in Germany, she might have served as a focus for a monarchist restoration movement. Her leaving symbolized the finality of William's renunciation. In consequence, some of her advisers considered her departure a grave political mistake.[86]

[82] Princess Ida Luise zu Solms-Baruth to Daisy Princess of Pless, Nov. 7, 1918, Daisy Princess of Pless, *What I Left Unsaid* (New York, 1936), pp. 178–79.

[83] Kaiser Wilhelm II., *Ereignisse und Gestalten aus den Jahren 1878–1918* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1922), p. 240.

[84] Memorandum of Prussian War Minister Lieutenant General von Scheüch, Dec. 4, 1919, Niemann, *Revolution von oben*, p. 390.

[85] Lady Norah Bentinck, *The Ex-Kaiser in Exile* (New York, 1921), pp. 32–35.

[86] Spitzemberg, *loc. cit.*, note *.

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Yet for Auguste Victoria there was never any choice in this matter. For one thing, Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands wished her to join William to give his stay in Holland a more private character.[87] Above all, however, she could not have borne the thought of being separated from William at a time when he needed her more than ever. So she rushed to his side at the earliest possible moment, unmindful of the political implications of such a step.[88]

She was not to remain long with him. Her health had long been impaired, and the strain of the last few months had caused a serious aggravation of an old heart condition. Yet the two years which were left to them were perhaps the most harmonious ones of their long marriage.[89] If ever the thought haunted her that she had been a poor helpmate to William, she must at least have derived some comfort from that final marital happiness which they both found after they had lost their throne.

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[87] Grünau, in Niemann, *Revolution von oben*, p. 451.
[88] Mathilde Gräfin von Keller, *Vierzig Jahre im Dienste der Kaiserin: Ein Kulturbild aus den Jahren 1881–1921* (Leipzig, 1935), p. 334.
[89] *Ibid., passim.*

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Canada and the Articles of Confederation

MURRAY G. LAWSON

TO the student of Canadian-American relations an interesting problem is posed by the unexplained presence in the Articles of Confederation of a special provision for the adherence and admission of Canada,[1] especially so because of the absence of a similar provision in the Constitution.[2] What prompted the framers of the Articles of Confederation to seek the annexation of Canada? In this writer's opinion it was fear—the fear that the Revolutionary cause would be imperiled if Canada were permitted to return to its former French role as a base of anti-American military and Indian operations. To substantiate this thesis it will be necessary to begin our investigations with the Quebec Act of 1774 and to continue them through the debates which led to the adoption of the Constitution in 1788.

Whatever be the real intentions of its authors, the passage of the Quebec Act on June 22, 1774, in the company of the four Intolerable Acts, instantly revived the American fear of Canada which had lain dormant since the expulsion of the French in 1763. On September 17, the first Continental Congress, after being in session less than two weeks, registered its sharp disapproval of the Quebec Act by accepting the Suffolk Resolves, which bitterly condemned the establishment of "the Roman Catholic religion and the French laws" in Canada as "dangerous in an extreme degree to the Protestant religion and to the civil rights and liberties of all America."[3] By October 14 Congress had concluded that the Quebec Act was further suspect because of the obnoxious company in which it had been passed.[4] Less than a week later it voiced the opinion that the sinister purpose of the Quebec Act was "by the influence of civil principles and ancient prejudices to dispose the inhabitants [of Quebec] to act with hostility against the free Protestant

[1] Art. XI. "Canada acceding to this confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into and entitled to all the advantages of this union; but no other colony shall be admitted into the same, unless such admission be agreed to by nine states." *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789* (Washington, 1904–37), IX, 924. Hereafter cited as *Cont. Cong. Journals*. The term Canada was "the popular designation for the colony of New France, as distinct from Acadia; and it continued in popular usage after the British conquest, though from 1763 to 1791 the official description of the colony was 'the province of Quebec.'" William S. Wallace, ed., *The Encyclopaedia of Canada* (Toronto, 1935–37), I, 353–54.

[2] Art. IV, Sec. 3, which empowers Congress to admit new states contains no reference to Canada, either direct or oblique.

[3] *Cont. Cong. Journals*, I, 34–35.

[4] "Statement of Violations of Rights," *ibid.*, I, 71–72.

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colonies, whenever a wicked ministry shall choose so to direct them."[5] And on the very next day it twice gave pointed expression to this growing fear. To the "Inhabitants of the British Colonies" it observed that "the authors of this arbitrary arrangement flatter themselves that the inhabitants [of Quebec], deprived of liberty, and artfully provoked against those of another religion, will be proper instruments for assisting in the oppression of such, as differ from them in the modes of government and faith."[6] To the "People of Great Britain" it addressed itself as follows:

> Now mark, the progression of the ministerial plan of enslaving us. . . . by another act the dominion of Canada is to be so extended, modelled, and governed, as that by being disunited from us, detached from our interests, by civil as well as religious prejudices, that by their numbers daily swelling with Catholic immigrants from Europe, and by their devotion to Administration, so friendly to their religion, they might become formidable to us, and on occasion, be fit instruments in the hands of power, to reduce the ancient, free Protestant colonies to the same state of slavery with themselves. This was evidently the object of the act.[7]

On this very same day, October 21, Congress, alarmed by its own reasoning, determined to send "an address . . . to the people of Quebec."[8] Five days later, on the last day of the session, it was approved, and instructions were issued for its translation into French and for its distribution in Canada.[9] The intent of this address was transparently simple: to alienate the French Canadians from the ministerial cause by depicting the Quebec Act as an audacious and cruel denial of "the inestimable advantages of a free English constitution of government"; to dissuade them by flattery and threats from being "inveigled or intimidated by infatuous ministers, so far as to become the instruments of their cruelty and despotism"—"tools, in their hands, to assist them in taking that freedom from us, which they have treacherously denied to you"; and to invite them "to complete the bright and strong chain of union" by choosing "delegates, to represent your province in the Continental Congress to be held at Philadelphia on the tenth day of May, 1775."[10]

The second Continental Congress convened at Philadelphia as scheduled, but Quebec, partly because it desired "to stand neuter" in the controversy,[11] and partly because it was angered by the vitriolic denunciation of

[5] The preamble to the Continental Association of Oct. 20, 1774, *ibid.*, I, 76.

[6] Oct. 21, 1774, *ibid.*, I, 99.

[7] Oct. 21, 1774, *ibid.*, I, 87–88.

[8] *Ibid.*, I, 101. The members of the "committee to prepare the above address" were Thomas Cushing (Mass.), John Dickinson (Pa.), and Richard Henry Lee (Va.).

[9] Oct. 26, 1774, *ibid.*, I, 113.

[10] Oct. 26, 1774, *ibid.*, I, 105–13.

[11] Peter Force, *American Archives*, 4th Series (Washington, 1837–53), II, 244. On March 29, 1775, John Brown, who had been sent by the Boston Committee of Correspondence to sound out the sentiments of "our fellow subjects in Canada, of French as well as English extract" with

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Catholicism as "a religion . . . that has dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder and rebellion, through every part of the world,"[12] failed to send any delegates. Two weeks later, on May 26, Congress, alarmed by the rumor that an attempt had been made to enlist the French Canadians against the American cause, and fearful that the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point and of the armed bateau at St. Johns, Quebec, by Benedict Arnold and Ethan Allen, might be construed as revealing an animus toward Quebec, determined to send a second "letter to the people of Canada."[13] Three days later it was approved and instructions were issued for its translation "into the French language" and for the distribution of a thousand copies "among the inhabitants" of Canada.[14] Like the first, this second address of May 29, was a curious blend of simulated camaraderie and flattery, of exhortation and threat. An insinuating note of camaraderie was struck in the salutation, "oppressed Inhabitants of Canada. Friends and Countrymen," and was carried to greater heights in the disingenuous remark that, "since the conclusion of the late war, we have been happy in considering you as fellow-subjects, and from the commencement of the present plan for subjugating the continent, we have viewed you as fellow-sufferers with us." The apprehensions resulting from the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point and from the attack upon St. Johns were countered with the observation that such action "was dictated by the great law of self-preservation," and with the assurance "that these colonies will pursue no measures whatsoever, but such as friendship and a regard for our mutual safety and interest may suggest." The disturbing intelligence that "you have already been called upon to waste your lives in a contest with us" was parried with the advice that "we are your friends, not your enemies," and with the thinly veiled threat that, "as our concern for your welfare entitles us to your friendship, we presume you will not, by doing us an injury, reduce us to the disagreeable necessity of treating you as enemies." The imperative necessity of binding the French Canadians to the American cause led Congress to conclude this

a view of "uniting . . . in the necessary means of obtaining the redress of our common grievances" (Justin H. Smith, *Our Struggle for the Fourteenth Colony* [New York, 1907], I, 92–93), reported from Montreal, that "the French people . . . appeared to have no disposition unfriendly toward the colonies, but chose rather to stand neuter. . . . There is no prospect of Canada sending delegates to the Continental Congress" (Force, II, 244).

[12] *Cont. Cong. Journals,* I, 88. This denunciation of Catholicism appears in the "Address to the People of Great Britain" of Oct. 21, 1774. On March 24, 1775, an anonymous correspondent from Montreal reported that this denunciation of their faith aroused such an anger in the French Canadians that "they could not contain their resentment, nor express it but in broken curses," which characterized Congress as both "perfidious" and "double-faced" (Force, II, 231).

[13] *Cont. Cong. Journals,* II, 64. The members of the "committee to prepare and bring in a letter to the people of Canada" were Samuel Adams (Mass.), Silas Deane (Conn.), and John Jay (N.Y.).

[14] May 29, 1775, *ibid.,* II, 70.

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letter with the remark that "we yet entertain hopes of your uniting with us in the defense of our common liberty" against "a licentious ministry."[15]

Three days later, on June 1, Congress, feeling the need of further reassuring the French Canadians that the measures being taken for the defense of Ticonderoga and Crown Point did not purport an invasion of Canada, followed up this address with a formal resolution that, "as this Congress has nothing more in view than the defense of these colonies . . . no expedition or incursion ought to be undertaken or made, by any colony, or body of colonists, against or into Canada," which it ordered to "be translated into the French language and transmitted with the letter, to the inhabitants of Canada."[16] But a little more than a week later, on June 9, while the French Canadians were still pondering the meaning of the address and the resolution, the die was irrevocably cast by Governor Guy Carleton's proclamation announcing that, in view of the imminent danger of a further American invasion, a state of martial law had been decreed for Quebec.[17] Quebec was no longer a free agent, and Congress, under severe pressure from all sides to take the initiative by invading Canada,[18] was sorely puzzled. This bewilderment and indecision is clearly revealed in a letter of John Adams:

> We have been puzzled to discover what we ought to do with the Canadians and Indians. Several persons have been before Congress who have lately been in the province of Canada, particularly Mr. Brown and Mr. Price, who have informed us that the French are not unfriendly to us. And by all that we can learn of the Indians they intend to be neutral. But whether we should march into Canada with an army sufficient to break the power of Governor Carleton, to overawe the

[15] *Ibid.*, II, 68–70.

[16] *Ibid.*, II, 75. On the very next day, June 2, the provincial congress of New York tried to supplement this reassurance by dispatching its own letter to "the inhabitants of Quebec," in which it reiterated that "our only intention" in undertaking military preparations in the Lake Champlain region "is to prevent any hostile incursions upon us by the troops of your province" (Force, II, 893). Two days later, on June 4, Ethan Allen likewise dispatched a letter from Ticonderoga to "our worthy and respectable countrymen and friends, the French people of Canada," in which he repeated the view that "the colonies . . . have not the least disposition to injure, molest, or any way deprive our fellow-subjects, the Canadians, of their liberty or property . . . nor . . . to wage war against them . . . (*ibid.*, II, 904).

[17] *Ibid.*, II, 940.

[18] Typical of such pressure were the cajoling letters of Ethan Allen (May 29, 1775) and of Benedict Arnold (June 13, 1775). Allen wrote: "it is my humble opinion, that the more vigorous the colonies push the war against the king's troops in Canada, the more friends we shall find in that country. . . . Should the colonies forthwith send an army of two or three thousand men, and attack Montreal, we should have little to fear from the Canadians or Indians, and would easily make a conquest of that place . . ." (*ibid.*, II, 733). Arnold wrote in a similar vein: "As commanding officer here [Crown Point], I think it my duty to acquaint you that . . . there are now in Canada . . . only five hundred and fifty effective men. . . . From the foregoing matters of fact . . . and from my personal knowledge of the country and the disposition of the Canadians, I beg leave to observe, that if the honorable Congress should think proper to take possession of Montreal and Quebec, I am positive two thousand men might very easily effect it . . ." (*ibid.*, II, 976).

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Indians, and to protect the French, has been a great question. It seems to be the general conclusion that it is best to go, if we can be assured that the Canadians will be pleased with it and join.[19]

But circumstances were fast forcing Congress to make a decision. On June 19, under pressure from the state of New York, Philip Schuyler was appointed a major general in the Continental Army.[20] A little more than a week later, on June 27, thoroughly alarmed by a report that Carleton was "making preparations to invade these colonies" and was "instigating the Indian nations to take up the hatchet against them," Congress ordered Schuyler to take over the command of the Lake Champlain theater and to "exert his utmost power to destroy or take all vessels, boats or floating batteries" being prepared "by the said Governor . . . on or near the waters of the Lakes." In addition, he was instructed to take immediate "possession of St. Johns, Montreal, and any other parts of the country," if he were to find that such a course of action would be "practicable, and . . . not . . . disagreeable to the Canadians," and that it might "have a tendency to promote the peace and security of these colonies."[21] Canada was to be invaded whenever the circumstances would permit, in order to achieve a twofold objective: to "shut the door against dangerous tampering with the Indians on all our western frontiers,"[22] and to induce the Canadians "to accede to an union with these colonies."[23] But it wasn't until two months later, on August 28, that the prophylactic "campaign of good intentions" was initiated by Brigadier General Richard Montgomery, Schuyler's second-in-command.[24]

On September 5, Schuyler, mindful of the stipulation that "a previous condition, a *sine qua non,* of marching into Quebec, is the friendship of the Canadians . . . [and] their consent and approbation,"[25] issued an address to "our brothers, the Canadians," in which he tried to forestall their apprehensions regarding the purpose of his expedition. "The Grand Congress," he observed, "have ordered an army into Canada" in order "to secure you and ourselves from such a dreadful bondage . . . that might follow from the

[19] To James Warren, June 7, 1775, Edmund C. Burnett, ed., *Letters of the Members of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789* (Washington, 1921–36), I, 113.

[20] *Cont. Cong. Journals,* II, 99.

[21] *Ibid.,* II, 109–10. On the following day, June 28, President John Hancock advised General Washington that "the alterations of the sentiments of Congress since your departure relative to making an impression into Canada was occasioned by a letter they received from the Committee of Albany . . ." (Burnett, I, 146). This letter (Force, II, 1048), dated June 21, was read in Congress on June 26 and again on the next day, preparatory to the drafting of Schuyler's instructions *(Cont. Cong. Journals,* II, 108–109).

[22] Richard Henry Lee to George Washington, June 29, 1775, Burnett, I, 147.

[23] President John Hancock to General Philip Schuyler, Oct. 10, 1775, *ibid.,* I, 227.

[24] Smith, I, 319. Chapter XI is entitled, "A Campaign of Good Intentions."

[25] Samuel Chase to General Philip Schuyler, Aug. 10, 1775, Burnett, I, 189.

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ministerial troops remaining in Canada." "This measure," he continued, "necessary as it is, the Congress would not have entered on, but in the fullest confidence that it would be perfectly agreeable to you," for in no other way could "those rights [to] which every subject of the British Empire . . . is entitled" be restored to you.[26] A little more than a month later, on October 10, the Continental Congress, somewhat fearful that Schuyler might have forgotten the *raison d'être* of the Canadian expedition, advised him again that what "the Congress . . . expect from your endeavors is, that the Canadians be induced to accede to a union with these colonies . . . and send delegates to this Congress."[27] This desideratum was the chief burden of the instructions issued to the three commissioners, Eliphalet Dyer, John Langdon, and Robert Treat Paine, who were appointed on November 2 "to repair to the northward, to confer with General Schuyler."[28] The commissioners were advised, in part, that

> the Congress expect . . . you . . . to consult with General Schuyler . . . of the best and most efficacious method . . . of engaging the inhabitants of the colony of Canada to accede to the Association of the United Colonies, and of protecting them for the future against their and our enemies. . . . The Congress desire you to exert your utmost endeavors to induce the Canadians to accede to a union with these colonies, and that they form from their parishes, a provincial convention, and send delegates to this Congress. . . . You may . . . assure them, that we shall hold their rights as dear as our own, and on their union with us, exert our utmost endeavors to obtain for them, and their posterity, the blessings of a free government, and that security to their persons and property, which is derived from the British Constitution. And you may . . . further declare, that we hold sacred the rights of conscience, and shall never molest them in the free enjoyment of their religion.[29]

It was likewise the theme of the letter which Congress resolved, on January 23, 1776, to send to the Canadians on learning of the Montgomery-Arnold reverse at Quebec.[30] Like its predecessors, this third "letter to the Inhabitants of the Province of Canada" opened on a note of flattery: "the services you have rendered the common cause deserve our acknowledgments, and we feel the just obligation your conduct has imposed on us to make our services reciprocal." The defeat at Quebec was airily dismissed with the cliché that "the best causes are subject to vicissitudes, and disappointments

[26] Force, III, 671.
[27] President John Hancock to General Philip Schuyler, Burnett, I, 227.
[28] *Cont. Cong. Journals,* III, 317.
[29] Nov. 8, 1775, *ibid.,* III, 339–40.
[30] *Ibid.,* IV, 79. One day later, on January 24, the letter was approved and ordered to "be immediately translated and printed" *(ibid.,* IV, 85–86). The members of the "committee . . . to prepare a letter to the inhabitants . . . of Canada" were William Livingston (N.J.), Thomas Lynch (S.C.), and James Wilson (Pa.).

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have been inevitable. Such is the lot of human nature." The Canadian fear of British reprisals for having supported the American cause was met with the somewhat disingenuous promise that "we will never abandon you to the unrelenting fury of your and our enemies," for reinforcements are on their way and will "probably arrive in Canada before the ministerial army under General Carleton can receive any succours." But the heart of the letter is contained in the renewal of the exhortation that

> at this period you must be convinced that nothing is so essential to guard our interests and liberty, as efficacious measures to combine our mutual forces, in order that by such a union of succour and councils, we may be able to baffle the endeavors of an enemy who, to weaken, may attempt to divide us. To this effect we advise and exhort you to establish associations in your different parishes of the same nature with those, which have proved so salutary to the United Colonies; to elect deputies to form a provincial assembly, and that said assembly to be instructed to appoint delegates to represent them in this Congress.

And in keeping with its general tenor, the letter ended on a note of rhetorical optimism: "we flatter ourselves with the prospect of the happy moment, when the standard of tyranny shall no longer appear in this land. And we live in full hopes that it will never hereafter find shelter in North America."[31]

A little more than two weeks later, on February 14, Congress received another rude shock. It was informed that its epistolary efforts to the French Canadians had been most effectively sabotaged by the clergy and the nobility, who had availed themselves of the high level of illiteracy to explain them in such a manner as to prejudice the common people against the American cause.[32] After pondering for a day the suggestion that "some persons from Congress" be "sent to Canada, to explain *viva voce* to the people the nature of our dispute with England," Congress decided to appoint Charles Carroll, Samuel Chase, and Benjamin Franklin as "a committee of three . . . to proceed to Canada"[33] in order "to promote . . . an union between the . . . colonies and the people of Canada."[34] However, it wasn't until more than a month later, on March 20, that the commissioners received their final instructions, in which the American case was restated with great cogency.

> Represent to them, that the arms of the United Colonies, having been carried into that province for the purpose of frustrating the designs of the British court against our common liberties, we expect not only to defeat the hostile machinations of Governor Carleton against us, but that we shall put it into the power of

[31] Jan. 24, 1776, *ibid.*, IV, 85–86.
[32] *Ibid.*, IV, 148–49. The informant was a French Canadian, Prudent la Jeunesse *(ibid.*, IV, 129, n.1).
[33] Feb. 15, 1776, *ibid.*, IV, 151–52.
[34] *Ibid.*, IV, 219. This purpose appears in the official commission of Mar. 20, 1776.

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our Canadian brethren to pursue such measures for securing their own freedom and happiness, as a generous love of liberty and sound policy shall dictate to them.

Inform them, that in our judgment, their interests and ours are inseparably united; that it is impossible we can be reduced to a servile submission to Great Britain without their sharing our fate. . . . Urge all such arguments as your prudence shall suggest, to enforce our opinion concerning the mutual interest of the two countries, and to convince them of the impossibility of the war being concluded to the disadvantage of these colonies, if we wisely and vigorously cooperate with each other.

To convince them of the uprightness of our intentions towards them, you are to declare that it is our inclination, that the people of Canada may set up such a form of government, as will be most likely in their judgment, to produce their happiness; And you are, in the strongest terms, to assure them that it is our earnest desire to adopt them into our union, as a sister colony, and to secure the same general system of mild and equal laws for them and for ourselves, with only such local differences as may be agreeable to each colony respectively. . . .

You are . . . to urge the necessity the people are under of immediately taking some decisive step, to put themselves under the protection of the United Colonies. . . . Endeavor to stimulate them by motives of glory, as well as interest, to assume a part in a contest, by which they must be deeply affected. . . .

You are further to declare, that we hold sacred the rights of conscience, and may promise to the whole people, solemnly in our name, the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion; and, to the clergy, the full, perfect, and peaceable possession and enjoyment of all their estates; that the government of every thing relating to their religion and clergy, shall be left entirely in the hands of the good people of that province. . . .

Inform them, that you are vested, by this Congress, with full powers to effect these purposes; and, therefore, press them to have a complete representation of the people assembled in convention, with all possible expedition, to deliberate concerning the establishment of a form of government, and a union with the United Colonies.[35]

Despite a month's sojourn in Canada, the mission of the "Apostles of Liberty,"[36] failed in the face of the adamant opposition of the Catholic clergy,[37] the persistent refusal of the Canadians to accept Continental paper money,[38] and the unfavorable military situation.[39] On May 6 the evacuation

[35] *Ibid.*, IV, 215–17.

[36] Chapter xxxi of Smith's *Our Struggle for the Fourteenth Colony* bears this title. It is characteristic of the times that, despite the admonition "to repair to Canada" with "all convenient despatch," the commissioners didn't depart until April 2 (*ibid.*, II, 338), and it wasn't until April 29 that they finally reached Montreal (*ibid.*, II, 329). There Franklin remained until May 10 (*ibid.*, II, 343), and Carroll and Chase until May 31 (*ibid.*, II, 387).

[37] *Ibid.*, II, 334–35.

[38] *Ibid.*, II, 338–40. It is somewhat disconcerting to note that, on the eve of the Schuyler-Montgomery invasion of Canada, a canny Scot in Quebec predicted that, "if the rebels should come into the country, that cannot last long, as they will want every thing from the Canadians for their paper money, a currency that the people of this country suffered too much by during

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of Canada began with the retreat of General Thomas from Quebec; on June 15 Montreal was evacuated by General Benedict Arnold; and on June 18, St. Johns, the last American possession in Canada, was evacuated by General Sullivan.[40] The rout was complete.

Although the "campaign of good intentions" and the mission of "the apostles of liberty" had failed, Canada was still regarded as "an object of the last importance to the welfare of the United Colonies," the loss of which would entail "consequences," which were "not in human wisdom to foretell."[41] This view is well expressed in a letter of John Adams:

> The unanimous voice of the continent is Canada must be ours. . . . The importance of Canada arises from this, and occasions our remarkable unanimity at present in deciding the affairs of it: In the hands of our enemies it would enable them to influence all the Indians upon the continent, and perhaps induce them to take up the hatchet and commit their robberies and murders upon the frontiers of all the southern colonies, as well as to pour down regulars, Canadians and Indians, together upon the borders of the northern.[42]

It is pithily echoed in a letter of Robert Morris: Canada "must be ours at all events: should it fall into the hands of the enemy they will soon raise a nest of hornets on our backs that will sting us to the quick."[43]

Consequently, when the committee, which had been instructed "to prepare and digest the form of a confederation to be entered into between these colonies,"[44] brought in a draft on July 12, 1776, it contained the following article:

> Art. XX. Canada acceding to this Confederation, and entirely joining in the measures of the United Colonies, shall be admitted into and entitled to all the advantages of this Union: but no other colony shall be admitted into the same, unless such admission be agreed to by the delegates of nine colonies.[45]

the French government to have any faith in now, and the rebels will be obliged to have recourse to force to give it a circulation, or in other words to take what they want, which will make the Canadians fly to arms in defense of their property; and in that case, as the country is numerous and warlike, it is very probable you will soon hear that they have put Schuyler and all his people to the sword" (Extract of a Letter to a Gentleman in Scotland, dated Quebec, Aug. 20, 1775, Force, III, 211).

[39] Smith, II, 343–87.

[40] *Ibid.*, II, 320, 439–42. On July 30, 1776, the congressional "committee appointed to enquire into the causes of the miscarriages in Canada" reported that, in its opinion, these were "short enlistments," "the want of hard money," and "the prevalence of small pox" (*Cont. Cong. Journals*, V, 617–18).

[41] President John Hancock to Major General John Thomas, May 24, 1776, Burnett, I, 463.

[42] To James Warren, Feb. 18, 1776, *ibid.*, I, 354-55.

[43] To General Horatio Gates, Apr. 5, 1776, *ibid.*, I, 416.

[44] *Cont. Cong. Journals*, V, 431. The membership of this committee, which was to "consist of a member from each colony," was composed as follows: Samuel Adams (Mass.), Josiah Bartlett (N.H.), John Dickinson (Pa.), Button Gwinnett (Ga.), Joseph Hewes (N.C.), Stephen Hopkins (R.I.), Robert Livingston (N.Y.), Thomas McKean (Del.), Thomas Nelson (Va.), Edward Rutledge (S.C.), Roger Sherman (Conn.), and Thomas Stone (Md.).

[45] *Ibid.*, V, 554.

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Six weeks later, on August 20, this article was approved with only a few minor changes in phraseology. Its number was changed to XVI, the designation "United Colonies" became the "United States," and the phrase "by the delegates of nine colonies" was changed to "by nine states."[46] More than a year later, on November 7, 1777, the adverb "entirely" was ordered to be struck out.[47] In the final version of the Articles of Confederation, which was approved on November 15, the only further change was that the number of the article was changed to read XI.[48]

Two weeks later, on November 29, Congress resolved,

> that a committee of three be appointed to procure a translation to be made of the Articles of Confederation into the French language, and to report an address to the inhabitants of Canada, inviting them to accede to the union of these states; that the said committee be further directed to report a plan for facilitating the distribution of the said articles and address, and for conciliating the affections of the Canadians towards these United States.[49]

Although the Articles of Confederation were translated into French,[50] there is no evidence that the accompanying address was ever prepared, or even that the translated Articles were ever distributed among the Canadians. Although a "partial report" was brought in on December 2, recommending that a "French legion" be "immediately established," and that its commanding officer "be instructed by means of emissaries and papers dispersed in Canada to conciliate the minds of the Canadians towards these states, and to prepare them for effecting a revolution, whenever the United States shall deem such a measure expedient,"[51] it was not only never considered by Congress, but thereafter the "committee of three" seems to have lapsed into silence as no further reports of its activities were rendered.[52]

This negative action may be due to the absorption of Congress in plans

[46] *Ibid.*, V, 688.
[47] *Ibid.*, IX, 880.
[48] *Ibid.*, IX, 924.
[49] *Ibid.*, IX, 981. The members of this "committee of three" were William Duer (N.Y.), James Lovell (Mass.), and Francis Lightfoot Lee (Va.).
[50] Although the *Journals of the Continental Congress* fail to indicate whether or not the Articles were actually translated into French as ordered, the presumption is that they were, as item 190 of the editor's "bibliographical notes" reveals that a French translation, entitled "Articles de Confédération & d'Union perpétuelles entre les États . . . ," was published at Philadelphia in 1777 (*ibid.*, IX, 1088).
[51] *Ibid.*, IX, 985–87.
[52] On December 2, 1777, Congress "ordered, that the consideration thereof be postponed" (*ibid.*, IX, 988). The next reference to this report appears on December 19, when in accordance with a recommendation by the Board of War, "that Congress take into their immediate consideration a report of a committee of Congress respecting the establishment of a French Legion, as the most eligible mode of providing for the said [French Canadian] prisoners" of war, it was "ordered, that Monday next [December 22] be assigned for taking" it "into consideration" (*ibid.*, IX, 1037). But when "Monday next" arrived Congress ordered that the consideration of "the report . . . be postponed" (*ibid.*, IX, 1049). Thereafter there are no further references in the *Journals* to this or any other reports of this "committee of three."

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for another invasion of Canada. Exhilarated by the surrender of Burgoyne and his invading army at Saratoga, Congress, on December 3, approved the "proposition for surprising and destroying the enemy's shipping at St. Johns or elsewhere, on Lake Champlain, during the winter season," and placed Brigadier General John Stark in command of the projected expedition.[53] However, by January 23, 1778, this project for "a sudden irruption with three or four hundred volunteers . . . to burn the shipping at St. Johns"[54] had been enlarged, at the suggestion of General Horatio Gates,[55] chairman of the Board of War, into a grandiose scheme for a full-scale "irruption into Canada" under the command of the young Marquis de Lafayette.[56] But, on March 2 "the intended irruption" was suspended "for the present," as it had become apparent that "difficulties attend" its "prosecution . . . which render the attempt not only hazardous in a high degree but extremely imprudent."[57]

The close connection between this stillborn invasion and the American desire to incorporate Canada into the Confederacy is quite evident from the original instructions, which were issued to Lafayette by the Board of War:

> If, upon entering Canada, you will find a general disinclination of the natives, to join the American standard, you will destroy all the works and vessels, at St. Johns, Chambly and the Isle aux Noix, and retire. . . . If, on the contrary, the Canadians are desirous of assisting to establish the freedom, and independence of America . . . they are then to be requested to send delegates, to represent their state in the Congress of the United States, and to conform, in all political respects, to the Union, and Confederation established in them.[58]

The desire for Canada induced Congress, on October 22, to instruct Benjamin Franklin, the newly appointed "Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of France," to impress upon the French the imperative necessity of adopting Lafayette's plan[59] "for the emancipation of Canada in cooperation with an armament from France."[60] But this project, likewise, failed to materialize,

[53] *Ibid.*, IX, 999–1000.

[54] James Duane to Governor George Clinton of New York, Mar. 13, 1778, Burnett, III, 129.

[55] Eliphalet Dyer to William Williams, Feb. 17, 1778, *ibid.*, III, 88.

[56] *Cont. Cong. Journals,* X, 84, 193.

[57] *Ibid.*, X, 217.

[58] Charlemagne Tower, *The Marquis de La Fayette in the American Revolution* (2d ed., Philadelphia, 1901), I, 272–74. Under congressional pressure these instructions were later amended and Lafayette was advised "that the primary object is a mere incursion or ravage with a view to destroy the enemy's shipping and stores," and "that, if, upon attempting the enterprise" he should "be of opinion from all circumstances that it is not prudent to proceed on so large a scale as that before mentioned," he was to "go no further than a ravage and bring his troops off after doing what injury" he could *(ibid.,* I, 275).

[59] President Henry Laurens advised General Washington that, to the best of his knowledge, "the scheme for an expedition into Canada in concert with the arms of France originated in the breast of the Marquis de La Fayette . . ." (Nov. 20, 1778, Burnett, III, 498).

[60] *Cont. Cong. Journals,* XII, 1041; XIII, 11. For the "plan for reducing the province of Canada, referred to in the Instructions of Honorable B. Franklin, Minister to the Court of France," see *ibid.*, XII, 1042–48.

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mainly because of the opposition of George Washington,[61] who feared that the French had designs upon Canada which might eventually prove detrimental to the interests of the United States.[62] Nevertheless, in its resolution of January 1, 1779, indefinitely deferring the proposed Franco-American expedition, Congress reiterated that "every favorable incident [will] be embraced with alacrity to facilitate and hasten the freedom and independence of Canada and her union with these states; events which Congress, from motives of policy with respect to the United States, as well as affection to their Canadian brethren, have greatly at heart."[63]

It is evident from the foregoing that Article XI had its origin in the military exigencies of the early phase of the Revolutionary struggle, in the necessity of protecting the exposed northern flank against attack via the classic Richelieu-Champlain invasion route.[64] However, by March 1, 1781,

[61] The preponderant role of Washington in scotching the proposed Franco-American invasion of Canada is clearly revealed in the antecedents of the congressional resolution of January 1, 1779. "The 'Plan of an Attack upon Quebec' . . . was ordered by Congress to be submitted to General Washington for his observations upon it, and this was done by the committee of foreign affairs, Oct. 27. . . . Washington submitted his observations at length in a letter of Nov. 11, and in a private letter to President Laurens, Nov. 14. . . . Washington's letter of Nov. 11 was read in Congress Nov. 19 and referred to 'the committee on the letters from the Marquis de la Fayette,' whose report was brought in Dec. 5 and was adopted. . . . The committee report of Dec. 5 was transmitted to Washington, and in consequence of a suggestion from him Dec. 13 . . . he was called to Philadelphia for a conference. . . . An immediate outcome of the conference . . . was the adoption, Jan. 1, 1779, of a report recommending the abandonment of the Canadian expedition" (Burnett, III, 499–500, n.2).

[62] On November 14, 1778, Washington wrote to Henry Laurens, president of the Continental Congress, as follows: "I have one objection to it [the Canadian expedition] . . . which is, in my estimation, insurmountable, and alarms all my feelings for the true and permanent interests of my country. This is the introduction of a large body of French troops into Canada, attached to them by all the ties of blood, habits, manners, religion, and former connection of government. I fear this would be too great a temptation to be resisted by any power actuated by the common maxims of national policy. . . . I am heartily disposed to entertain the most favorable sentiments of our new ally. . . . But it is maxim, founded on the universal experience of mankind, that no nation is to be trusted farther than it is bound by its interest; and no prudent statesman or politician will venture to depart from it. . . . If France should even engage in the scheme, in the first instance, with the purest of intentions, there is the greatest danger that, in the progress of the business, invited to it by circumstances, and perhaps urged on by the solicitations and wishes of the Canadians, she would alter her views." John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington* (Washington, 1931–44), XIII, 254–56.

[63] *Cont. Cong. Journals,* XIII, 13.

[64] That the Articles of Confederation themselves were a "war measure" seems to be implied in the "circular letter" of November 17, 1777, under the cover of which they were submitted to the state legislatures for ratification. "Congress having agreed upon a plan of confederacy for securing the freedom, sovereignty, and independence of the United States, authentic copies are now transmitted for the consideration of the respective legislatures. . . . Let them be candidly reviewed . . . under a conviction of the absolute necessity of uniting all our councils and all our strength, to maintain and defend our common liberties: let them be examined with a liberality becoming brethren and fellow-citizens surrounded by the same imminent dangers, contending for the same illustrious prize. . . . Every motive loudly calls upon us to hasten its conclusion. More than any other consideration, it will confound our foreign enemies, defeat the flagitious practices of the disaffected, strengthen and confirm our friends . . . and . . . enable us to maintain our fleet and armies. . . . In short, this salutary measure can no longer be deferred. It seems essential to our very existence as a free people, and without it we may soon be constrained to bid adieu to independence, liberty and safety . . ." (*ibid.*, IX, 932–34).

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when it finally went into effect with the formal ratification of the Articles of Confederation, the military situation which had given birth to it was no longer operative. Actually, by the autumn of 1778, the danger originally apprehended from Canada had disappeared. The resounding failure of Burgoyne's invasion of the previous year highlighted the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of effectively using Canada as a base for the suppression of the Revolution.[65] Clinton's enforced evacuation of Philadelphia and hasty withdrawal to the safety of New York in the summer of 1778 "signified . . . that the British had . . . abandoned their hope" of suppressing the Revolution in the north.[66] "From this time on" the British were to transfer the principal theater of the war to the southern states and to confine their "military operations" in the north "to expeditions along the coast, and to raids on the frontier with the assistance of the Indians."[67] Moreover, "the natural consequence" of Great Britain's growing involvement in a major European war with France (1778), Spain (1779), and Holland (1780) was that from the autumn of 1778 to the end of the Revolution "the subjugation of America" was to be subordinated in the British strategy to "the war in Europe" where "the main danger" to Great Britain lay.[68]

As Congress could not be expected to be immediately cognizant of the implications of these significant changes in the military situation it had, as late as January 1, 1779, reiterated its desire that "every favorable incident be embraced with alacrity to facilitate and hasten the freedom and independence of Canada and her union with these states." But less than two months later, on February 23, the committee, which had been instructed to prepare a preliminary statement of the terms on which the United Colonies would be prepared to make peace,[69] proposed, in effect, that the acquisition of the provinces of Canada and Nova Scotia ought not to be insisted on as an ultimatum of peace.[70] On March 19, after less than a month of debate, Congress accepted its committee's recommendation.[71] And five months later, on

[65] "From 1778 . . . Britain abandoned Carleton's idea of cutting the old colonies in two by a great blow delivered over Lake Champlain. . . ." A. L. Burt, *The Old Province of Quebec* (Minneapolis, 1933), p. 280.

[66] Thomas G. Frothingham, *Washington, Commander in Chief* (Boston, 1930), p. 262. Cf. Henry P. Johnston, "American War of Independence, Land Operations," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed.), I, 844.

[67] Frothingham, pp. 273–74. Cf. Henry B. Carrington, *Battles of the American Revolution, 1775–1781: A Military History* (6th rev. ed., New York, 1904), p. 458.

[68] Frothingham, pp. 300–301.

[69] *Cont. Cong. Journals,* XIII, 194. This "committee of five," composed of Samuel Adams (Mass.), Thomas Burke (N.C.), Gouverneur Morris (N.Y.), Meriwether Smith (Va.), and John Witherspoon (N.J.), was appointed on February 17 *(ibid.,* XIII, 195).

[70] *Ibid.,* XIII, 241.

[71] *Ibid.,* XIII, 339–41. It should be noted, however, that the intent of Congress was, if possible, to restrict Canada to the boundaries established by the proclamation of October 7,

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August 14, "the commissioner . . . to negotiate a treaty of peace with Great Britain" was formally instructed that,

> although it is of the utmost importance to the peace and commerce of the United States that Canada and Nova Scotia should be ceded, and more particularly that their equal common right to the fisheries should be guaranteed to them, yet a desire of terminating the war hath induced us not to make the acquisition of these objects an ultimatum on the present occasion.[72]

Thus, almost two years before Article XI went into effect, Congress had decided that Canada was no longer "an object of last importance to the welfare of the United Colonies."[73]

Although it is apparent that the impending changes in the military situation would eventually have induced Congress to abandon its war-inspired desire for Canada, the August 14 renunciation must be credited to the ubiquitous Sieur Conrad Alexandre Gérard, the French minister plenipotentiary to the United Colonies.[74] Before setting sail for America Gérard had been instructed to use all his influence to dampen the American ardor for Canada, because the feeling of "uneasiness and anxiety" that would be engendered by the English retention of Canada would be most "useful" in constantly reminding Congress of "their great need for the friendship and alliance" of France.[75] Almost a year later, early in February, 1779, he

1763, thereby depriving it of most of present-day southern Ontario; for the boundary line stipulated was to run from the junction of the St. Lawrence River and "the forty-fifth degree of north latitude . . . straight to the south end of Lake Nipissing . . . and thence straight to the source of the river Mississippi." Even the suggested modification, "that if the line to be drawn from the mouth of Lake Nipissing to the head of the Mississippi cannot be obtained without continuing the war for that purpose, then . . . a line . . . may be drawn more southerly," would have deprived Canada of most of the Niagara peninsula, as it was stipulated that this concession was not to extend "southward of a line in latitude forty-five degrees north."

[72] *Ibid.*, XIV, 959–60.

[73] This majority opinion, however, was not concurred in by a number of New Englanders, because of their concern for the continued welfare of the important New England fisheries. Their position is unequivocally stated by Samuel Adams in a very frank letter to Samuel Cooper, dated April 29, 1779: "Our happiness depends upon independence. To be prosperous we must have an extensive trade. This will require a respectable navy. Our ships must be manned, and the source of seamen is the fishery. . . . Nova Scotia and Canada would be a great and permanent protection to the fishery. . . . The cession of those territories would prevent any views of Britain to disturb our peace in future and cut off a source of corrupt British influence which issuing from them, might diffuse mischief and poison through the states. Will not then the possession of Nova Scotia and Canada be necessary, if we mean to make peace upon pacific principles?" (Burnett, IV, 185).

[74] Gérard arrived in Philadelphia on July 12, 1778, and immediately established his official residence "just sixty paces" from the hall where Congress met. John J. Meng, ed., *Despatches and Instructions of Conrad Alexandre Gérard* (Baltimore, 1939), pp. 147, 595. Some indication of the role that Gérard played in shaping opinion may be gathered from the fact that the index lists forty separate entries under the single heading of "Gérard . . . interviews with delegates." When to these are added the interviews with the delegates who are listed by name there are more than one hundred separate entries (*ibid.*, pp. 935–37).

[75] Mar. 29, 1778, *ibid.*, p. 129.

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was further advised that, in view of the above French policy, it was imperative that Congress should include in its statement of the conditions upon which it would make peace a "renunciation of both Canada and Nova Scotia, or at least of Canada."[76] How effectively Gérard carried out his instructions is evident from the implicit and explicit renunciations of March 19 and August 14, respectively.

Inasmuch as Article XI had its origin in the tense military situation of the first few years of the Revolutionary struggle, when the harassing fear that Canada might become "a nest of hornets on our backs that will sting us to the quick" was rife, it is not at all surprising that the Constitution, which was conceived in a time of peace, does not contain any provision for the admission of Canada into the Union. On September 3, 1783, the long Revolutionary struggle had ended in triumph with the British recognition of American independence in the Treaty of Paris. On October 2, 1784, the Indian menace was temporarily laid to rest, when the dreaded Anglophile Iroquois made their peace with the United States in the Treaty of Fort Stanwix. Even the unsettled problem of the northwest posts failed to cause any real alarm, for as John Lansing remarked to the New York state ratifying convention, "to risk a war" over "the conduct of the King of Great Britain with respect to the western posts" would be neither "prudent" nor "expedient" because of the acute danger of thereby exposing the American "coast to depredation by an enemy, against whose attacks in that point" the country was "defenceless."[77] Moreover, in 1787 when the Federal Convention convened in Philadelphia the United States was a satiated nation, with immense riches awaiting exploitation under the direction of a strong centralized government. This view is clearly expressed by George Washington:

> It is true, that, for the want of a proper Confederation, we have not yet been in a situation fully to enjoy those blessings which God and nature seem to have intended for us. But I begin to look forward, with a kind of political faith, to scenes of national happiness, which have not heretofore been offered for the fruition of the most favored nations. The natural, political, and moral circumstances of our nascent empire justify the anticipation. We have an almost unbounded territory whose natural advantages for agriculture and commerce equal those of any on the globe.[78]

That interest in Canada was at an exceedingly low ebb at this time is fairly evident, for there is just one passing reference to Canada in all of the

[76] Oct. 26, 1778 (acknowledged on Feb. 12 and 15, 1779), *ibid.*, p. 359.

[77] June 17, 1788, Jonathan Elliott, ed., *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution* . . . (2d rev. ed., Washington, 1836), II, 220.

[78] To Sir Edward Newenham, Aug. 29, 1788, Fitzpatrick, XXX, 72.

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extant reports of the proceedings of the Federal Convention of 1787.[79] There isn't a single reference, direct or oblique, to Canada in any of the 206 conditions and amendments to the Constitution, which were proposed in the various state ratifying conventions,[80] nor in the voluminous debates themselves.[81] It is apparent that with the ending of the Revolution, the war-inspired fear of Canada waned, and with it the American desire for Canada.

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[79] Robert Yates's report of Alexander Hamilton's speech of June 18, 1787, contains the following reference to Canada: "Let us take a review of the variety of important objects, which must necessarily engage the attention of a national government. You have to protect your rights against Canada on the north, Spain on the south, and your western frontier against the savages. . . . How is the expense of supporting and regulating these important matters to be defrayed?" Max Farrand, *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* (2d rev. ed., New Haven, 1937), I, 297. That Madison did not attach any importance to this passing reference to Canada may be deduced from his failure to include it in his record of Hamilton's speech (*ibid.*, I, 282–93).

[80] Gaillard Hunt and James B. Scott, eds., *The Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787 Which Framed the Constitution of the United States of America Reported by James Madison, a Delegate from the State of Virginia* (New York, 1920), pp. 642–87.

[81] Elliott, *passim*.

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Notes and Suggestions

The Approach to the Welfare State in Great Britain*

C. L. Mowat

BETWEEN the idea and the reality we expect some interval. The welfare state now exists in Great Britain: what prepared the way for it? The term "welfare state" seems almost as new as what it describes—not more, perhaps, than three or four years old. Even the idea behind it is hardly half a century old in England: the idea, that is, that it is the duty of the state to maintain the well-being of all its members by guaranteeing them a minimum of income and services, and insuring them against the hazards of sickness, unemployment, and old age. For such an idea to gain general acceptance there must have been a breaking-down of older ideas of the virtues of independence and thrift, not to speak of a transformation of opinion concerning the functions of the state.

The present range of welfare services provided by the state had one forerunner: the Poor Law, which provided, on a local basis under national supervision, a minimum form of existence for paupers. The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, that curious sequel to the great Reform Act, is, therefore, a logical starting point. The act did not, of course, create the pauper's right to relief: it attempted to limit it. The change of ideas which made possible the approach of the welfare state is the change from the philosophy of the new Poor Law to that of the Beveridge Report, from parish relief to National Assistance.[1]

The Poor Law Amendment Act aimed to limit the right to relief in two ways. First, outdoor relief was to be replaced by relief given only in a "well-regulated workhouse." Second, the relief given was to be of the most exiguous sort, so as to ensure that the pauper's "situation on the whole shall not be made really or apparently so eligible as the situation of the independent labourer of the lowest class"—the famous principle of less eligibility. This

* Delivered at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Chicago, December 29, 1950.

[1] Useful summaries of the history of social legislation are to be found in Emmeline W. Cohen, *English Social Services* (London, 1949); W. Hardy Wickwar, *The Social Services* (London, 1936); T. S. Simey, *Principles of Social Administration* (Oxford, 1937); Charles W. Pipkin, *Social Politics and Modern Democracies* (New York, 1931), I.

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principle was justified on the ground that the common welfare required it, since anything which elevated the condition of the pauper class only depressed the condition of the independent class above it; but behind this was the conviction that poverty was a crime and unemployment laziness: "Every penny bestowed that tends to render the condition of the pauper more eligible than that of the independent labourer is a bounty on indolence and vice."[2]

Relief given by the Poor Law Guardians either in the form of outdoor relief (which never completely disappeared) or in the undiscriminating mercies of the "General Mixed Workhouse" remained the only public provision against misfortune for over seventy years. Yet its shortcomings were obvious from the first. It was seldom so mean as to be less eligible than what the lowest of the poor could obtain for themselves; it was never so generous as to be just to those, particularly the aged, whose recourse to it was through no fault of their own. Some may remember Quiller-Couch's sketch, "The Paupers," in the *Delectable Duchy,* first published in 1893, describing an aged couple who at last "can't manage to pull along" by themselves any more, and have to go to "the House." "We'll see one another now an' then, they tell me," says the old woman as they prepare to part. "The sexes meet for Chris'mas trees an' such like."[3]

Yet the revolt against the Poor Law, and in favor of a less Draconian provision for the poor, came slowly. We might, with Mrs. Lynd, put the change in the 1880's; the idea that poverty was not necessarily a crime, and thrift and charity no sovereign remedies. The Reform Act of 1867, Lib-Labism, municipal socialism, the harangues of Hyndman and the tracts of the Fabians, Charles Booth's inquiry and the London dock strike, all served to produce a new attitude. And by then the state had developed to the point at which new responsibilities could be put upon it. The social legislation of the nineteenth century was voluminous. It was largely regulatory, and much of it concerned with attempts to authorize or to force local bodies to regulate abuses or to provide elementary services. The early railway legislation stands for the former type, the Public Health Act of 1848 for the latter. With regulation came the growth of administration and the appearance of the modern civil servant. The zeal of men such as Chadwick, Kay-Shuttleworth, Hugh Tremenheere, and Sir John Simon not only advanced the causes they had at heart, whether it was education or public health or Poor Law administra-

[2] Report of the Royal Commission on the Administration . . . of the Poor Laws (1834), pp. 227–28, quoted in *Report* of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws (majority report) (1909), I, 103.

[3] "Q" (A. T. Quiller-Couch), *Delectable Duchy* (New York, 1906), p. 57.

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tion; it also enlarged the possibilities of state action.[4] Dicey placed at 1865 the beginning of collectivism, meaning by it "faith in the benefit to be derived by the mass of the people from the action or intervention of the state." In the eighties the idealist philosophers put the argument on a higher plane. T. H. Green, in his *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation,* first published in his *Works* in 1886, had said: "New situations of life may arise out of the extended dealings of man with man which the state renders possible (e.g., through the crowding of population in certain localities) which make new modes of protecting the people a matter virtually of right." The state ought to remove all obstacles to the development of "social capacity," such as those of lack of education, poor health, bad housing.[5]

One way to remove such obstacles was through an insurance system provided and underwritten by the state. Germany, under Bismarck's leadership, began its schemes of compulsory insurance for workingmen against accidents, sickness, and old age in the eighties. In England, a proposal of universal, compulsory insurance was older: it was in 1878 that Canon W. L. Blackley, "a prophet not without honor save in his own country," as Sir Arnold Wilson called him, began advocating contributory old age and sickness pensions financed out of payments made by everyone between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one; these, accumulating over the years and added to by the state, would provide pensions of five shillings a week at seventy. At public meetings, in articles in the *Contemporary* and the *Nineteenth Century,* in the pamphlets of the National Providence League, and in evidence before royal commissions, Canon Blackley pushed his idea. As early as 1885 a select committee of the House of Commons inquired into his and other proposals. Support soon came from the great Radical of his day, Joseph Chamberlain. In 1891, in a speech in Birmingham he argued in favor of old age pensions on the ground that as much as one person out of every four over sixty among the working classes was in receipt of poor relief. It was thanks to him as much as anyone that the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor, with the Prince of Wales as well as Chamberlain and Charles Booth as members, was appointed in 1893. Chamberlain's own evidence before the commission was the most impressive; and it brings out clearly one idea which, as it spread, revolutionized the public attitude toward schemes of social reform: that much poverty existed through no fault whatsoever of its

[4] G. M. Young, *Victorian England: Portrait of an Age* (Oxford, 1936), pp. 39–42; Simey, pp. 26–30; J. B. Brebner, "Laissez Faire and State Intervention in Nineteenth-century Britain," *Journal of Economic History,* Supplement *(The Tasks of Economic History),* VIII (1948), 59–73.

[5] Thomas Hill Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation* (London, 1895), pp. 139–40, 159, 206–209.

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victims, and could be warded off only by collective means: "[the fact] that there is a very large number of people who have led ordinarily respectable lives but who in old age are forced to go upon the Poor Rates . . . [is] a scandal upon our civilization."[6]

Yet it was not to help the aged that the state first advanced to a positive policy of social welfare. It was large-scale unemployment which broke down inhibitions against state action and carried the state ankle-deep, then knee-deep, and finally breast-high into social welfare. We do not now think of 1905 as a time of heavy unemployment; but it was in that year that the Conservatives passed the Unemployed Workmen Act setting up distress committees in every borough to help the unemployed by finding or providing them with work or assisting them to emigrate. Unemployment was now studied as a social problem, and its roots, especially in casual labor and in the gaps between jobs, were revealed in W. H. Beveridge's pioneer work, *Unemployment,* in 1909.

This was something; but the real break with the past, the real beginning of the welfare state in its modern form, must surely be placed in 1908, in the enactment of the Old Age Pensions Act. The beginning was small: non-contributory pensions of five shillings a week at seventy, subject to rigorous tests of means, good behavior, and previous self-support. Though it was the Liberals who introduced the bill and Lloyd George who got much of the credit, it was really the result of Chamberlain's work, of Canon Blackley's, and of public inquiries before and after the report of 1895. The change it wrought was twofold. Poverty was no stigma and need not end in the workhouse. The state was making new provision for welfare, in piecemeal fashion, outside of and parallel to the Poor Law.

This was the situation when the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and the Relief of Distress, appointed in 1905, concluded its deliberations in 1909. The commission was the battleground between the old ideas and the new, between the Poor Law relieving destitution and a variety of services warding off misfortune, the earnest of the welfare state. And yet it was something of a sham battle. Thanks to the efforts of the Webbs, the minority report of the commission then and subsequently got the lion's share of attention; actually it differed little from the majority report in the ends it proposed, though it did on the means. Both reports recognized that poverty was caused by other things besides idleness and improvidence: old age, illness, insanitary housing, low wages, casual labor, blind-alley jobs, and plain unem-

[6] Sir Arnold Wilson and G. S. Mackay, *Old Age Pensions* (Oxford, 1941), p. 26; for this whole subject see pp. 6–45.

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ployment. Both were in favor of constructive help for those in need, after investigation and classification. The difference was that the majority wished to retain the Poor Law (renamed Public Assistance and transferred from the Guardians to the counties and county boroughs), though depriving it of much of its load; Mrs. Webb and her friends of the minority report wanted to abolish it altogether, replacing it by specialized services dealing with birth and infancy, medical provision on public health lines, homes for the aged, and a national ministry of labor to help the unemployed. The majority put its faith in insurance under the state: invalidity insurance, unemployment insurance, old age pensions; in provident societies and dispensaries for medical care; in limited schemes of public works under the local authorities to provide work for the unemployed in times of crisis. The minority rejected unemployment insurance and medical insurance as impracticable, welcomed old age pensions but disapproved of the idea of making them contributory. Both reports were prophetic; the minority, however, sounded the new note more clearly: "the mere keeping of people from starving—which is essentially what the Poor Law sets out to do—may have been useful as averting social revolution; it cannot, in the twentieth century, be regarded as any adequate fulfilment of social duty."[7]

In the short run the majority report was vindicated: the Poor Law remained in being. Its other main recommendation, state insurance, was also adopted; this delayed the "break-up" of the Poor Law for which the Webbs campaigned, but only made it more certain in the end. Once social insurance became all-inclusive, there would be little left for the Poor Law to do.

Lloyd George took the decisive step when he adopted the principle of compulsory insurance in his National Insurance Act of 1911, which included both national health insurance and a very limited scheme of unemployment insurance applying only to the builders, engineers, and shipbuilders whose trades involved seasonal layoffs. The weakness of the scheme of national health insurance was that it left too many people out: not only the women and children but many workers debarred because of occupation or income. The strength, from the point of view of the welfare state, was that it popularized the idea of state aid through insurance, a device infinitely extensible and not open to the criticism that it was a dole which demoralized the receiver and bankrupted the state. It marked also the recognition that the state's function had changed, as Ramsay MacDonald pointed out in the debate on the bill: "For the first time in a clear, unmistakable, systematic way a Government has come before the country and has said that the repair

[7] Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, *Report,* III (minority report), pp. 396–97.

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of these breaches [sickness] in the way of life is a responsibility imposed on the Government. . . ."[8] Yet by then the state had acknowledged its responsibility in other directions also, partly thanks to the Labor party's numbers in the Commons. School meals, the school medical service, labor exchanges, the Children's Act of 1908, trade boards, workmen's compensation—all added timbers to the structure of the welfare state, even if it was still only partly habitable.

The First World War inevitably accelerated the building of the welfare state. It tremendously enlarged the sphere of government; men and women became accustomed to the idea of the omnicompetent, all-pervasive state. And it produced, in the Labor party's new program of 1918, *Labour and the New Social Order,* a new emphasis on the idea of the "National Minimum," though the idea can be traced back in a rudimentary form to the Webbs' *Industrial Democracy,* published in 1897.[9]

After the war, unemployment led to new measures which took the state further and further into the field of public welfare. The relief of the unemployed became largely a national affair, taken out of the hands of the Poor Law; and it ceased to be principally a matter of insurance and became instead something like outdoor relief, though still dependent, after insurance benefits were exhausted, on proof of need—the notorious "means test." The idea of the "dole" (unemployment pay not covered by insurance contributions) originated as a demobilization measure, the "out-of-work donation" to ex-servicemen and war workers, dating from November, 1918. The basic act, the Unemployment Insurance Act of 1920, which gave coverage to nearly all workers out of a fund which was supposedly self-sustaining, was passed in a lull before heavy unemployment began, but had to be continued in the bad years, even if the fund became exhausted. Other measures which undermined the Poor Law were the widows', orphans', and old age contributory pensions of 1925 (providing pensions at sixty-five); the several housing acts; and the Maternity and Child Welfare Act of 1918 empowering local authorities to operate clinics and day nurseries.

Besides unemployment, there were other forces which helped to wear away old attitudes about the state's function. Private charity was increasingly criticized as patronizing, amateurish, and inefficient (the fact that the criticism was often unfair did not blunt it). Fears of a shrinking population, brought into the open by Dr. Enid Charles's book, *The Effect of Present Trends . . . on the Future Population of Great Britain* (1935), reinforced the

[8] 25 *H. C. Deb.,* 5 s., 719.

[9] Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Industrial Democracy* (rev. ed., London, 1920), p. 767; cf. Beatrice Webb, *Our Partnership* (New York, 1948), p. 292.

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argument for family allowances first voiced by Eleanor Rathbone in the *Disinherited Family* in 1924. And studies such as Sir John Boyd Orr's *Food, Health, and Income* (1937) showed how dangerously large a proportion of the population was underfed, its lives shortened, its children stunted.

Thus the way was prepared for the changes produced by the Second World War which, like the first, but far more radically, cut through old institutions and ideas. The greatest influence was the air raids, or rather, the war itself as it was carried to the civilian population. This is the theme of R. M. Titmuss' admirable work, *Problems of Social Policy,* one of the government's "civil histories" of the war. Titmuss points out that by the end of the war the government had "assumed and developed a measure of direct concern for the health and well-being of the population which, by contrast with the role of the Government in the nineteen-thirties, was little short of remarkable." Instead of limiting its welfare services to the poor, it assumed the obligation "to ward off distress and strain among . . . almost all classes of society."[10] As a result, the quality of provision thought good enough for a pauper—the relic of "less eligibility"—no longer passed muster: more courtesy, more sympathetic consideration, better services were expected.

This was implied, even before the war, in the government's plans for evacuation and for hospital accommodation for air-raid victims. Both schemes were based on people's needs, not on whether or not they could afford to pay for what was done for them. Evacuation led the state into the business of billeting children and providing children's hostels and homes for mothers. The bombs of the *Luftwaffe* reinforced the lesson, for they were no respecters of persons. They reduced the householders of all the wrecked houses to a common denominator, the homeless. It meant little that one had or had not a bank account. Everyone needed help: shelter, cash, perhaps new clothes, the salvaging and storing of furniture. The state became the universal provider—superbly aided by countless volunteer organizations—of shelters, rest centers, citizens' advice bureaus, of food, encouragement, medical care. The emergency medical service grew into something like a national hospital service, prefiguring part of the National Health Service Act of 1946. The deep instinct to preserve the living, and particularly the children, when so many were dying, made nutrition the state's responsibility; the provision of school meals of good quality, and of milk in schools, the supplying of milk, cod liver oil, and orange juice to mothers and children were done without distinction of class or income. Old age pensions were increased for similar

[10] Richard M. Titmuss, *Problems of Social Policy,* History of the Second World War: United Kingdom Civil Series (London, 1950), p. 506.

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reasons. British Restaurants took the government into the catering business; the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts into a tardy patronage of plays and concerts, reviving old dreams of a national theater. And by 1943 another motive was at work: shame. Mothers and children evacuated from the slums, billeted in the country in houses of the better-to-do, seemed to their hosts a race of savages in their lack of habits of personal cleanliness, their poor health and physique, their wretched clothing. *Our Towns: A Close-up,* published in 1943, told the story; the shame of it rested not on the evacuees but on the nation.

Long before this the determination to make a better country out of the ruins was universal. It started after Dunkirk,[11] and reached even to that meeting of prime minister and president which produced the Atlantic Charter in August, 1941, whose fifth point commits the nations to economic collaboration "with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic adjustment and social security." Hence, in the plans of reconstruction so hopefully begun in 1941 the future of the social services occupied a high place. Sir William Beveridge's report, *Social Insurance and Allied Services* (Cmd. 6404; 1942), published in November, 1942, was the result.

The Beveridge Report was the blueprint for completing the building of the welfare state. Its merit was not in its originality but in its comprehensiveness. It offered a plan for insurance "from cradle to grave" for everyone, provided out of a fund to which almost everyone over sixteen would contribute, rich or poor, whether a wage-earner or possessed of independent means. The whole system would be under a single department, the ministry of social security (in the event named National Insurance), with offices throughout the country. Social services introduced piecemeal and administered by separate authorities would thus be brought together: unemployment benefits and payments, old age pensions, sickness benefits under National Health Insurance; gaps and loopholes would be closed. A medley of welfare services would be replaced by the welfare state.

Since 1945 Beveridge's proposals, and the other measures implied in them, have been carried into effect; during the war they had been accepted in principle by the coalition government. National Insurance and family allowances have replaced outdoor relief, though National Assistance stands ready to pick up those who drop behind the wagon of National Insurance. The National Health Service provides the services of physician, surgeon, hospital, and pharmacist, and glasses, artificial legs, and toupées. The general mixed workhouse no longer exists as such. The building still stands, and will when

[11] See *Times* leader, July 1, 1940, quoted in Titmuss, p. 508.

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much else has passed away. Still it raises its grey bulk against the sky on the windy outskirts of the town. But the old bastille is now a hospital or a children's home, and its casual ward for tramps is now a "reception center for persons without a settled way of living." As a symbol it is no more: "the existing Poor Law shall cease to have effect," declares the National Assistance Act of 1948.[12] July 5, 1948, was the appointed day when National Insurance and the National Health Service came into being. This was the birthday of the welfare state in Britain. But the way had been prepared for it long before.

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[12] The other postwar measures constructing the welfare state include the Family Allowances Act, 1945, the National Insurance Act, 1946, the National Health Service Act, 1946, the Children's Act, 1948.

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The London Dutch Refugees in Search of a Home, 1553-1554

FREDERICK A. NORWOOD

LUSTILY singing one of John à Lasco's favorites, the Second Psalm,

> Hoe rasen so die Heydenen te hoop? En
> die volcken betrachten ydel dinghen . . . ,

a small company set sail from Gravesend, September 17, 1553. Welcomed by the English after the death of Henry VIII as refugees from religious persecution in the Netherlands, they now, after the death of the boy king Edward and the accession of the Catholic Mary, were once more embarking on a voyage in search of a new haven and a new freedom of worship. Before they found their promised land, they were to sail through a watery wilderness and endure the bitterness of winter and the hatred of men. Whether one draws from this saga of the sixteenth century a lesson in Christian constancy or of Protestant bigotry, it stands as one of the most dramatic and heroic episodes of a colorful era. The long and lugubrious history of intolerance does not begin with the religious dissension of the sixteenth century, nor does it end with the ecclesiastical subsidence of the next. The episode described in this article will serve, with poignancy doubled and redoubled by Catholics and Protestants alike, as an example taken at a time when the ferment of modern ideas was surely and gradually, though as yet imperceptibly, forcing a new interpretation of religious truth and the rights of conscience upon the minds of men. The folk who thus sailed away in autumn were members of the Dutch church of Austin Friars in London, established under letters patent of Edward VI, July 24, 1550.[1] Enjoying unprecedented freedom, they were all the more shocked by the sudden turn the accession of Mary brought to Protestantism. Representing the largest refugee community in England, this church had assumed responsibility for assistance to other groups and to their fellows still struggling against the Spaniard in the Low Countries. Several leaders of European fame were

[1] A recent book recounting the history of this church from its foundation to its resurrection after destruction by a German bomb on October 15, 1940, is by J. Lindeboom, *Austin Friars: History of the Dutch Reformed Church in London, 1550–1950* (The Hague, 1950). The standard survey of the Dutch refugee movement as a whole is A. A. van Schelven, *De Nederduitsche Vluchtelingenkerken der XVIe Eeuw in Engeland en Duitschland in hunne Beteekenis voor de Reformatie in de Nederlanden* (The Hague, 1909). For a special treatment of these and other refugees as an economic force see Frederick A. Norwood, *The Reformation Refugees as an Economic Force* (Chicago, 1942).

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associated with it, among them John à Lasco,[2] John Utenhove,[3] and Martin Micronius.[4] Its impact on the polity and belief of the English establishment is not to be underestimated. But now word in no uncertain terms had come from the Privy Council, to the effect that the Dutch Protestants must leave England forthwith. Edward had died in July; by September they were ordered out on very short notice.[5]

The number of individuals who participated in this migration is subject to dispute, but apparently the larger figure of about four hundred is preferable.[6] When they sought for means of leaving England, they discovered two Danish ships ready to sail to Denmark. One was of fair burden, the other rather small. Since the Reformation had come to Denmark permanently under the rule of King Christian III,[7] a good friend of Edward VI, the refugees thought that here was the heaven-sent opportunity to escape from England and attain security at the same time. Without further consideration of the willingness of the Danish court to accept them, they engaged the ships and set sail in September.[8]

[2] Born 1499 of a noble family, died 1560 in Poland. He studied at Bologna, and learned Hebrew with Conrad Pellican in Basel, 1524–25, lodging with Erasmus. Between 1525 and 1538 he was in Poland. In the early 1540's he was in the Rhineland and Emden, and there turned fully Protestant, along the lines of Zwingli. Having visited Cranmer in England previously, he came to London in 1550 to become superintendent of the Dutch church. See Hermann Dalton, *Johannes à Lasco* (Utrecht, 1885). Cf. article by Dalton in *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche,* XI, 292–96, and George Pascal, *Jean de Lasco* (Paris, 1894).

[3] Born in Ghent, died 1565. He fled to Cologne in 1544 because of persecution and then took up residence in Strasbourg. His second visit to England, in 1549, prepared him to serve the Dutch church established there as elder. See Fredrik Pijper, *Jan Utenhove, zijn leven en zijne werken* (Leiden, 1883). There is a long note on him in Jan Hendrik Hessels, ed., *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum* (Cambridge, Eng., 1887–97), II, 3, n.2.

[4] Born in Ghent, fled to Germany and there met Utenhove. Came to England in 1549 and became first minister of the Dutch church. See Jan Hendrik Gerretsen, *Micronius* (Nijmegen, 1895).

[5] Bishop Stephen Gardiner apparently was active in urging the expulsion of the refugees (*Calendar of State Papers, Spanish,* XI, 217). We find the Privy Council inviting the refugees at Glastonbury to leave quietly (John Roche Dasent, ed., *Acts of the Privy Council of England,* IV, 341, 349). Not all the Dutch in London departed in September, for some remained a few months under the leadership of Peter Delaenus. But this marked the definite end of the first period of the strangers' church, as is indicated by the terse reference made by the Privy Council on August 27, 1554, to Austin Friars, which "standeth presently shut upp without any Divine Service used in the same . . ." (*Acts of the Privy Council,* V, 68).

[6] Various estimates give 165 (Fernand de Shickler, *Les églises du refuge en Angleterre* [Paris, 1892], I, 68), 175 (Van Schelven, *Vluchtelingenkerken,* p. 106), about 400 (Hessels, *Archivum,* II, 5, n. 2; 38, n. 2; 981, n.2), 350 plus families (Pijper, *Utenhove,* p. 102; and others). The figure revolves around the question as to whether the number 175 means the complement of each vessel or both together. Articles in the *Proceedings* of the Huguenot Society of London (among others, Henry J. Cowell, "The Sixteenth-Century French-Speaking and English-Speaking Refugee Churches at Frankfurt," XIV [1929–33], 62–95; George B. Beeman, "The Early History of the Strangers' Church, 1550–1561, XV [1933–37], 261–82) are largely dependent on the works just cited, at least for the Continental aspect of the movement.

[7] Not Christian II, as Van Schelven states (*Vluchtelingenkerken,* p. 105).

[8] The sources of information on this memorable voyage are rather limited. Lasco sent brief letters from Emden to Henry Bullinger on March 3, 1554 (*Corpus Reformatorum, Calvini Opera,* XV, 64). Bullinger replied, writing to Utenhove, May 17, 1554, giving thanks for the

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Leaving Gravesend far behind, the two vessels carrying the refugees caught the breezes of the North Sea and sailed toward the hoped-for peace of Denmark. But shortly a storm, always dangerous in the shallow North Sea, tossed the ships so far apart and off their course that they were separated and forced to find their own way to the Continent.[9] After almost a month the smaller ship arrived safely at Elsinore (Helsingor), in the north of Seeland on the Sound. Those who had congratulated themselves that they had won passage on the larger ship now had good reason to bewail their fate. For they were driven on the perilous coast of Norway and forced to take refuge in an abandoned harbor known as Flekkerö.[10] Here Lasco, Utenhove, and Micronius, after giving thanks for their escape from the reefs through the fog and storm, turned to assess their condition and found it bad. The people were already worn out, had little food left, and did not know just where they were. When food was located, a great feast brightened their outlook and retrieved hope. After sojourning for six days waiting for a

safe arrival of Lasco and Utenhove in Emden. He suggests that one D. Chytraeus, a professor at Rostock, would be more friendly than others (cf. Hessels, *Archivum,* II, 45). He also wrote to John Calvin on March 13, 1554 (*Corp. Ref., Cal. Opera,* XV, 81), recounting their sufferings up to the expulsion from Denmark. Of some value on the Danish portion of the trip is the later work of Ludwig Harboe, *Nachrichten von dem Schicksale des Johann von Lasco und seiner aus England vertriebenen reformirten gemeinde in Dännemark* (Copenhagen, 1758). It first appeared as a foreword to D. G. Zwergius, *Det Siellandske Clerisie* (Copenhagen, 1754). There are several purely polemical pieces connected with men like Joachim Westphal and Menno Simons. But the source that renders all of these relatively unimportant is the thorough account made by Utenhove, *Simplex et Fidelis narratio de instituta ac demum dissipata Belgarum, aliorumque peregrinorum in Anglia ecclesia.* A carefully edited edition by F. Pijper appears in Samuel Cramer and F. Pijper, eds., *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica* (The Hague, 1903–14), IX (1912), 1–151, with an "Inleiding," 3–28. This is one of the rare books of the sixteenth century. Published at Basel in 1560, there are extant only a few copies on the Continent, one in the British Museum, one in the Rare Book Room of the New York Public Library. A microfilm of this copy in my possession was used for this article. At one time a question was raised over the authorship, principally by Abraham Kuyper. But this doubt has been eliminated by more recent scholars, notably Fredrik Pijper. A more serious charge has been that of polemical intent. No one conversant with the literature of the sixteenth century is surprised to discover polemic in even the most scholarly and profound works, and no one who reads Utenhove's book will miss the bias, but there is no indication that Utenhove distorted facts. The book is as reliable as any account by any direct participant can be. Utenhove wrote to Calvin explaining the purpose of the work, saying that the truth about the exile from England would be known to the whole world, and that now men would know what kind of man Westphal is (July 30, 1558, *Corp. Ref., Cal. Opera,* XVII, 268). Melanchthon had no objection. Calvin's reaction to the suggestion that he write a recommendation is interesting: he refused, believing it would not be "useful" *(ibid.,* XVII, 379). Its importance is enhanced by the foreword by Lasco, who refers to ". . . *uiro clarissimo D. IOANNI VTENHOVIO, collegae nostro, et nostrarum in Anglia pridem Ecclesiarum presbytero: cuius sane uiri probitas, fides, grauitas, eruditio atque integritas ipsa notior pijs passim omnibus, quam ut illa egeat commendatione*" (p. 5). Utenhove completed work on the book by August, 1557; early in 1558 Lasco wrote the foreword; and early in 1559 the manuscript was in the hands of Joannes Oporinus in Basel (cf. Hessels, *Archivum,* II, 77, n. 9; Pijper, *Utenhove,* pp. 178–83).

[9] Utenhove, *Narratio,* pp. 21 ff. Pijper and Pascal devote two or three pages to this Danish portion.

[10] Variously spelled, probably the island near Kristiansand. Pascal, *Jean de Lasco,* p. 243, apparently confuses this place with the next haven.

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favorable wind, they sailed on. Previously, however, five or six of them, despairing of the sea route and in fear of starvation, set out on foot along the Scandinavian coast on the way to Denmark. After six months one of them arrived more dead than alive at Copenhagen. The rest, after two days at sea, were again driven upon the shore, this time in the shelter of Malstrand.[11] There they stayed ten more days. At this juncture the three leaders decided to board a small boat with a few companions and proceed along the coast, arriving at Elsinore after three days. The ship arrived a few days later, by October 29. All now thought their arduous journey was done. It was just beginning.

There followed a tedious series of negotiations with the king of Denmark, Christian III, and his counsellors, lay and ecclesiastical. Since the monarch was holding court at Kolding, on the east side of Jutland, Lasco, Utenhove, and Micronius journeyed over to seek audience early in November. After waiting for two days they were called in, not to talk with the king but to listen to a sermon by Paul Noviomagus, the court preacher, on the text Philippians 3:17–21.[12] After emphasizing the real presence he launched into a thinly veiled attack on the refugees, calling them false prophets and sacramentarians. Then and only then were they granted an audience with Christian, who received them kindly enough and accepted their petition for refuge.[13] He withheld his judgment until later. After waiting several days they decided to force the issue and sought a disputation with Noviomagus in the presence of the king. This brought, on the fifteenth, the royal answer: Although the strangers would not be permitted to worship openly according to their own rites, they might remain if they would conform to the Danish Lutheran practice. If they wanted to leave, the king would assist their departure. Finally, there would be no public disputation. He did accept the lengthy written reply they had prepared against the sermon of the court preacher. This resulted in a visit by Noviomagus, during which he sought to defend his sermon. He told them the king held them in suspicion because of their practice of the Lord's Supper in London and because of sectarians in their midst. But he himself wished them well. Apparently

[11] "Malstranensem" in Utenhove, *Narratio,* p. 23, and the secondary works. Probably Marstrand, at that time Norwegian, now Swedish.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

[13] Incorporated in *ibid.*, pp. 28–38. The document is interesting for its moderation and idealism. It also reflects the freedom with which the refugees had worshipped in England under Edward. Toward the end it strikes the altruistic note: *"Non nostram ipsorum, sed Christi gloriam quaerimus: multoque libentissimé humana in nobis (etiam cum nostri pudefactione)* [closing parenthesis not in original], *agnoscemus omnia, si modò Christi Domini gloriam, in sua doctrina, per nostri pudefactionem illustrari uerè uideamus. Illum enim crescere, nos autem minui oportere, libenter cum Ioanne Baptista profitemur."*

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everyone in Denmark rooted for them in their presence. Later another counsellor sought them out and proclaimed on the solid ground of Scripture: "Blessed is the man who walketh not in the counsel of the sacramentalists, nor standeth in the way of the Zwinglians, nor sitteth in the seat of the Zürichers."[14] The three exiles disdainfully rejected what they regarded as a childish perversion of Scripture.

The chapter was running out. On November 17 they were ordered to leave Denmark, they and all their flock. The king made a friendly gesture by paying the expenses incurred during their visit to Kolding and gave them funds to help their departure. But when they sought permission to leave the old, halt, and very young over winter, they were rebuffed. Only the children of Lasco himself, with their teacher, might remain. All the rest must leave, whether by land or by sea. On the nineteenth the three left Kolding on their way to Bremen and thence finally to Emden. Lasco and Utenhove went there directly, arriving December 4. They were well received by Countess Anna of Oldenburg and were given permission to arrange for the establishment of a refugee church there with some others who had stayed behind in England and now were in Emden. Micronius stopped off at Hamburg, and then sought to assist the main body of refugees, who, after being stranded in Copenhagen, had departed for various Baltic ports.[15]

The main party had been well received by the municipal authorities of Copenhagen.[16] They were exempted from public burdens and given permission to rent houses and follow their sundry trades. Although they were forbidden to establish schools for their children, they were happy. Their treatment so far had led them to expect cordial relations. But the arrival of the order from the king, November 26, together with the explanatory letter of Lasco, plunged them again into gloom. What would become of them in the middle of the winter? How could they leave Denmark with families, feeble, ill, infants? Even the Danish senate took compassion and appealed to the king to postpone the expulsion until spring. He—or his council—was adamant. By now it was December 8, and they were told to be out by evening of the next day. Then the authorities extended them three days. With great difficulty permission was obtained to leave behind a seriously ill man and his family. All the rest were to leave at once. They divided into four groups, three to go by sea to Rostock, Wismar, and Lübeck, the fourth by land to Gedser (on the southern tip of the Danish archipelago), and thence

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 94.

[15] Van Schelven, *Vluchtelingenkerken*, p. 107, describes briefly the movements of these; Pascal, *Jean de Lasco*, pp. 249 ff., deals with his man in more detail.

[16] Utenhove, *Narratio*, p. 100.

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over the Baltic Sea to Rostock.[17] The archival studies of Ludwig Harboe[18] report, in a list printed in Danish, that fifty-seven sailed on one ship, ten on a small vessel, fifty on the ship to Wismar, and thirteen overland to "Giidtzöer." About thirteen sick and infirm were left behind. At the height of a thick snowstorm, the ice churning in the Baltic, three ships set sail with orders never again to touch the coast of Denmark. After about two terrifying days they sighted the German coast.

One of the ships anchored at Warnemünde, the Baltic port for Rostock.[19] After repeated petitions the voyagers were allowed to stay, but only for eight days. Thence they proceeded to Rostock, the old university city on the Warnow River, where they met the group that had come overland from Denmark. Apparently some went on to Wismar, while others remained because of the cold. The Reformation in a strongly Lutheran form had been introduced to Rostock in 1534.[20] As a result of the hostility of the local pastors, therefore, the refugees were forced to leave by January 12.[21]

At Wismar, one of the ports on Mecklenburger Bay, not far west of Rostock, their story of persecution is repeated, with dramatic overtones. Here were reunited two groups, the one from Rostock and the one that had sailed here from Denmark. The latter had a difficult passage through stormy waters laden with grinding ice that almost stove in the ship. Once in the estuary leading to the city, their ship was frozen tight. Half frozen themselves, they were brought the rest of the way to Wismar with the aid of local fishermen.[22] They were welcomed at first by the authorities in this prosperous Hanseatic city where the duke of Mecklenburg, Johann Albert, was in residence. Soon, however, charges of Mennonite propaganda were raised. At this juncture Micronius, who had left Denmark with Lasco and Utenhove, arrived (January 25) with the intention of defending the refugees in disputation. In consequence a rather notable debate was held February 6 and 15 between Micronius and Menno Simons himself.[23] Dealing largely

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 115. Pijper, *Utenhove,* tells the story to this point, following Utenhove's account. He errs in giving the date of departure as November 13 rather than December 13. He, and most of the other secondary sources, ignore the rest of the journey.

[18] Quoted by Pijper in a footnote to his edition of the *Narratio* in *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica,* IX, 89, n. 1.

[19] Utenhove, *Narratio,* p. 118.

[20] Cf. Axel Vorberg, *Die Einführung der Reformation in Rostock,* Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, No. 58 (Halle, 1897), especially pp. 55–56.

[21] Utenhove, *Narratio,* p. 119.

[22] *Ibid.,* pp. 120 f. The Anabaptists of this city, barely tolerated themselves, were very active in providing for their comfort. Cf. Charles H. Smith, *The Story of the Mennonites* (Berne, Ind., 1947).

[23] Utenhove, *Narratio,* pp. 122 ff. Out of the debate came the tracts by Micronius and Simons respectively, *Waerachtigh Verhaal* and *Een gants claer en duytlick Antwoort.* Cf. *Realencyklopädie,* XIII, 57. Micronius was Zwinglian on the Lord's Supper; he was influenced by his friend Bullinger.

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with the Incarnation, it had little result except to rouse the inhabitants against the exiles. A more serious argument now developed with the Lutherans themselves, led especially by the zealous disputant Smedenstede. The outcome of all these debates was the same: no agreement was reached, the exiles ordered out. They might well have suffered less if they had talked less. Micronius especially was ambitious in taking on all comers, regardless of consequences. Duke Johann Albert would have permitted them to stay over winter, but the Lutheran ministers made it impossible. Toward the end of February they were once more on their way, this time to Lübeck.

There they met the group that had sailed directly from Denmark. But they arrived at the worst possible time, shortly before publication of an ordinance requiring all of them to leave within four days. Lübeck had come over to the Reformation in 1530 under the leadership of Johann Bugenhagen, who arrived in the city that year.[24] The group from Copenhagen had made a fast voyage of two days to Travemünde, on the estuary leading to Lübeck. From there they made their way overland by wagon, stopping along the icy road to send two of their number forward with their petition. The authorities were reluctant but finally allowed them to enter the city.[25] The Lutheran theologians gave them no rest, and as a result their sojourn was already almost over when Micronius and the others from Wismar arrived. This was the final blow. Disputing over the nature of the body of Christ after the Resurrection and his condition at the right hand of God, one point of agreement only was reached: the refugees must depart the city within four days. This was on February 26.[26]

Since Hamburg, on the Elbe flowing into the North Sea, is adjacent to Lübeck on the Baltic, the wanderers had little difficulty traveling from the one city to the other. But their troubles began as usual after they had arrived. The stage was set for a classic example of religious intolerance and persecution. Hamburg had become Lutheran by 1529. According to the fifty-ninth article of the Recess of that year, anyone who was not henceforth of the Lutheran persuasion "would not be tolerated in this city and its environs, would be prosecuted and upon conviction punished," for "unity of religion is the best bond of peace and of trust in political affairs."[27] Into this atmosphere strode the adamantine figure of Joachim Westphal, whom Hermann Dalton has called "the obstinate, belligerent exponent" of the Lutheran

[24] Heinrich Schreiber, *Die Reformation Lübecks,* Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, No. 74 (Halle, 1902) p. 69. Close relations were maintained between this city and Rostock.

[25] Utenhove, *Narratio,* pp. 165 ff.

[26] *Ibid.,* p. 191.

[27] Quoted in *Realencyklopädie,* VII, 380.

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teaching on the Lord's Supper.[28] To enter Hamburg was indeed to enter the den of the lion. The refugees did not know this, however, because since October, 1553, other refugees from England, largely English, had been received in a friendly manner by the authorities. As news of their approach from Lübeck came, however, the attitude of those responsible for the public peace changed. Micronius, as always, did the worst possible thing—engaged in a disputation with Westphal over the question of the authority of church and Scripture, Micronius defending the latter. By March 3 Westphal had become bitter, calling the refugees "devil's martyrs . . . much worse than thieves and poisoners, for they poison true doctrine and steal away the Word of God and murder souls."[29] The outcome was inevitable: they were ordered out within a few days. They found a ship and set sail for Emden toward the end of March. When John Calvin heard what had been done to them at Hamburg, he wrote a tract against Westphal in May, 1554, in which he said:

> He has not contented himself with preventing them from finding shelter, and with obliging them to disperse in the midst of a very rigorous winter, but as far as lies in his power would exterminate them from the world. I see now that our not approving of their conclusions suffices to incite them to a strange and barbarous cruelty against all of us indifferently, and that they are bursting with such venomous pride against us that they would rather have peace with the Turks, and brotherhood with the Papists, than any truce with us.[30]

It was an old story now for these folk who had left England in the fall of 1553. They had sought refuge in at least six places. They had been rebuffed and driven out everywhere. Little wonder if some of them despaired. A last effort, as it were, took them to East Friesland, where the widowed Countess Anna of Oldenburg was reported well disposed toward devout and homeless Christians. In sharp contrast to the bigoted devotion to ecclesiastical unity manifested in the decrees at Hamburg, an ordinance of 1545 at Emden provided:

> In case, however, anyone should be found who had been exiled only for the sake of the Gospel, who was willing to live agreeably, and who could furnish sufficient testimony, such a one men must not drive out of the land.[31]

[28] Dalton, *Johannes à Lasco*, p. 497. Born about 1510 at Hamburg, he studied theology at Wittenberg under Luther and Melanchthon, spent some time there lecturing and preaching. Cf. Hessels, *Archivum*, II, 84, n. 12. In 1540 or 1541 he became pastor of St. Catherine's Church in Hamburg. In 1552, just two years before Lasco's flock arrived, he published a warning against any who would deny the real presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper: *Farrago confusaneorum et inter se dissidentium opinionum de coena Domini, ex Sacramentariorum libris congesta (New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, XII, 328).

[29] Quoted in Cowell, "Refugee Churches at Frankfurt," Huguenot Society of London, *Proceedings*, XIV, 67.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 68.

[31] Dalton, *Johannes à Lasco*, p. 502, n. 3.

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A favorable wind drove their ship through the North Sea to Emden, where Lasco and Utenhove already had found a home and were prepared to make them welcome.

Here assembled the various fragments of the Dutch refugee movement, the last to arrive being those who left England with the Delaeni, Walter and Peter, in the spring of 1554. The strangers were partially assimilated into the indigenous Protestant movement in Emden, but not entirely. They were not a pure refugee church, largely because of the similarity of language. But a special diaconate was established for their service and assistance.[32] The people were very friendly, and the magistrates permitted the exiles to follow their trades freely. After the middle of the century Emden flourished. It became the center for the refugee churches, indeed the center for the Dutch Reformed Church, culminating in the great synod of 1571. Within a few years some six thousand Protestants came to join the fellowship of Calvinist refugees in the city that was to be called *"Moeder der vluchtelingen en ballingen"* and *"Herberg der uitverkorenen Gods."*[33]

Most of them stayed in Emden at least until the death of Queen Mary. Utenhove is found in Norden in 1556, but in October he accompanied Lasco to Poland, where both worked until 1559. Returning to western Europe, where he published his memorable history, he crossed the Channel to England, bringing with him the original charter granted by Edward VI in 1550. The Dutch Reformed Church re-established in England by Elizabeth, however, was not on the broad and firm basis of the letters patent. Perhaps the most suitable final word on this sixteenth-century religious saga is said by Utenhove himself, near the end of his *Simplex et Fidelis narratio:*

> In conclusion we wish that all pious men, seeking to follow Christ, should entertain no evil against those who have persecuted us thusly on our cross, and that they should not desire, like James and John of old, that the fire of heaven should descend on them for their inhospitality; but that rather, following the teaching of Christ and in unity with our God, they should fervently pray that they might be converted and saved.[34]

Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois

[32] Cf. Norwood, *Reformation Refugees,* pp. 22–23, 109, 149. See also Van Schelven, "Zur Biographie und Theologie des Valérand Poullain," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,* XLVII (1928), 227–49.

[33] Dalton, p. 503.

[34] Utenhove, *Narratio,* pp. 237–38.

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★ ★ ★ ★ *Reviews of Books* ★ ★ ★ ★

General History

THE USES OF THE PAST: PROFILES OF FORMER SOCIETIES. By *Herbert J. Muller.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1952. Pp. xi, 394. $6.00.)

THE writing of the comparative history of civilizations threatens to become ever more sensible. First Spengler offered us his apocalyptic vision—dogmatic, ill-tempered, peppered with mistakes, and yet with a kind of massive grandeur that gives it promise of outlasting its numerous successors. A decade and a half later, Toynbee began to publish his suaver, more scholarly, and more hopeful version of the same cosmic drama; the sharp edges were already wearing away, a partially empirical method had begun to be applied. And now, after a similar interval of time, Professor Muller has brought out still another interpretation, in which the provocative features of Spengler's work have disappeared entirely, and serene reason and good sense, balanced argumentation and Anglo-Saxon empiricism, have replaced the thunders of the melancholy Teuton.

Professor Muller's work is avowedly slighter than that of his predecessors. It is brief—even briefer than D. C. Somervell's abridgment of Toynbee—businesslike, and based practically entirely on secondary works, all of them, to judge from the bibliography, either in the English language or available in translation. It makes no claim to original scholarship or even original hypothesis. It is rather a synthesis of what some of the best historical thinkers of the past few decades have contributed to the enlargement of our vision. But it is by no means a merely mechanical digest. Professor Muller has succeeded in integrating his material in a manner that achieves clarity without sacrificing the complexity of the original thought. His style is careful and usually felicitous; only toward the end of his work does it grow tedious. The result is in its modest way a kind of *summa.* I can think of no better book to be offered college seniors finishing a four-year course in history to give them a sense of wider relationships and comparative values.

For these purposes, Professor Muller's work has the advantage of its self-limitations. It is not a theory or ordered structure of comparative societies. It is not even an attempt to find "configurations," in A. L. Kroeber's sense. It is simply a series of "profiles"—as I understand it, a common denominator of generalizations about a number of societies (Israel, Greece, Rome, Byzantium, the European and American West, Russia, India, and China) sufficiently accepted as such so that they demand no closer definition. Beyond this—and perhaps more significantly—Professor Muller expresses two basic attitudes toward history. The first, a plea for a mixture of "piety" and "irony" and a sense of tragedy in viewing the past, is appealing but not particularly provocative: it is roughly what all the more discerning historians of today believe whether or not they consciously formulate it.

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The author's second attitude is more controversial: it is a reassertion of a faith in reason and humanism as operating principles both in historical interpretation and, to an extent, in the data of history itself. The attempt is courageous and timely: in its sophisticated restatement of familiar doctrine it is reminiscent of Karl Popper's *The Open Society and Its Enemies,* to which Professor Muller generously recognizes his debt. These two criteria of judgment, which he apparently regards as the implicit presuppositions of Western empirical method, Professor Muller applies to the writings of the twentieth-century historical synthesizers. Hence his work amounts to a post-irrationalist salvage operation directed both at finding out how much can be rescued from the more traditional view of history as the evolution of Western democratic values, and at testing to what extent the largely intuitive theories of the historians of comparative civilization can support the test of empirical criticism. It is not surprising that Professor Muller leaves little standing in Spengler's and Toynbee's symmetrical structures. The wonder is how much survives; even Spengler's "Faustian" man, for example, emerges nearly intact.

This book comes as a welcome corrective. It is refreshing to see the Enlightenment established once again in the place of honor, to hear the early Middle Ages frankly called "dark," and to read that "man's history on earth still looks like an evolution, and in the long view even like a progress." Yet Professor Muller strives so hard to restore a sense of reasonableness in historical interpretation as against those who see only drift, unreason, and decay, that he sometimes says rather more than he needs to. And by the same token he challenges to combat some rather antiquated windmills. Besides engaging in a running skirmish with Toynbee—definitely no windmill—Professor Muller takes on a number of adversaries unworthy of his pen: worshippers of the Middle Ages, now nearly forgotten, like Ralph Adams Cram, and a variety of literal-minded Christian divines. Moreover, the antiphonal method he adopts in marshaling his material—first the virtues of a society, then its vices—ends up by wearying the reader: the literary device is too neat and repetitious. In the showdown, then, for all the gentleness and reasonableness of his tone, Professor Muller proves to be as polemical as his predecessors in the ever-popular pursuit of historical comparisons. If Toynbee has been likened to St. Augustine, Professor Muller may with no greater injustice be compared to Gibbon—a Gibbon chastened by a century and a half of turmoil and disaster, but still girded for battle with the forces of barbarism and religion.

Stanford University H. Stuart Hughes

HISTORIKAR I LAERE. By *Halvdan Koht.* [Utgjevi av den Norske Historiske Forening.] (Oslo: Grøndahl & Søn. 1951. Pp. 170.)

Professor Koht, the distinguished Norwegian scholar, writer, professor, and statesman, tells in this compact book the story of the training of a historian—himself. These are not random reminiscences, but an objective and probing study of

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the forces that helped to shape the making of a historian whose interests are almost universal, ranging from the sagas to Ibsen, from socialism to American industrial and social history, from the Norwegian *bonde* to Bismarck, from the Middle Ages to contemporary Europe. In every field his mind and pen have touched, he has left a trail of original, critical books and articles which, in the aggregate, constitute an impressive historical contribution, particularly in social, cultural, and literary domains.

The son of a wise schoolmaster of classical interests, the historian-to-be (born in 1873) started early, blessed with the gift of wonder, the root of all learning. He was a bookworm who began by reading Robinson Crusoe eighty-three times! As a small boy he devoured Scott, Cooper, Marryat, Norse folk tales, classic myths, Bible stories, and every book of history he could lay hold of; and in his teens he was deep in Buckle and Lecky. A university student in the 1890's, he came under the influence of a galaxy of scholars and teachers, most important of whom were Sophus Bugge and Gustav Storm, but, however exciting and rigorous their tutoring in the use of sources, it was Mr. Koht's independent reading—of Taine, Burckhardt, and other historians—that had the most marked influence on his historical thinking. The student supplemented formal instruction by extensive activity in politics, public speaking, and newspaper writing; wide travels; and the authorship of his first two books.

His horizons were then broadened by studies in the historical "laboratory" of Johannes Steenstrup in Copenhagen, the stimulating teaching of Karl Lamprecht at Leipzig, and work in Paris under Monod, Thévenin, and others. During two years of foreign study, Mr. Koht kept alive his interest in politics and continued his newspaper writing, while digging in medieval documents. Returning to Norway, he took a modest university library position, plunged into painstaking work on the Norwegian dictionary of authors, and tackled research problems relating to peace, socialism, the Norwegian *bønder,* and Ibsen and Wergeland, before completing a doctoral dissertation in 1908 and receiving appointment as a university *dosent.*

A fortunate stipend then sent him to America for a year, his interest in American history having already been stirred by Erich Marcks at Leipzig (in lectures attended also by a lone American student who Mr. Koht thinks was William E. Dodd). His friends scoffed at the idea of a historian-in-training setting off for a "land that had no history," but Mr. Koht was wiser than they. The "sense of wonder" led him to explore the canyons of New York; hear Bryan, Taft, and Debs in the 1908 campaign; read Ida Tarbell; interview Samuel Gompers; lunch in Washington with Oliver Wendell Holmes, a "free-born aristocrat who understood the new times"; hear George Burton Adams at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association; visit South Carolina, California, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, where he heard Frederick Jackson Turner lecture, before he returned to Norway to write a book on money power and labor in America.

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So was rounded out the earlier training of a historian who, reviewing his long and productive career, tells us that he never quite achieved the dreams of his youth. Nearly, he says, but not quite! He never became a historical philosopher. Perhaps, as he suggests, he "spread himself too thin." But the reader will be grateful to him, not only for his contributions to historical understanding in many fields but also for one of the most penetrating narratives and analyses of how a historian (and man) came to be what he was and is that we have ever had. This little book, written in Norwegian *landsmaal,* should be made available in English, for I can think of no single autobiography that would be more illuminating for students of our own day who are training to be historians.

University of Minnesota THEODORE C. BLEGEN

FIFTY YEARS OF THE SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY. By *William Baskerville Hamilton.* (Durham: Duke University Press. 1952. Pp. viii, 397. $5.00.)

THIS book is a reminder of the valuable and, it seems to the reviewer, rather broad and normal work done by the *South Atlantic Quarterly.* Professor Hamilton's insistence in his *Fifty Years of the South Atlantic Quarterly* that the magazine has maintained an attitude of iconoclasm is possibly *post hoc.* It rather seems that the whole South has been somewhat stern in what it said to itself during these last fifty years. The journal seems, from Professor Hamilton's own statement, to have announced and pursued no exclusive policy of reform but to have opened its pages to the best articles it could get, and it got a great many good ones, in all lines. A good deal is made of what the author calls the "Bassett affair." John Spencer Bassett, professor of history at Trinity College, one of the founders of the *South Atlantic Quarterly,* in his editorials attacked the South, certainly for its own good, on account of its poor literary culture, its injustice to the Negro, its fundamentalism, demagoguery, child labor, and other faults. The active and at times censorious Josephus Daniels, editor of the *News and Observer* (Raleigh), turned his fire on Bassett and led other newspapers to do so. Indeed, there arose a demand that Bassett should be discharged from his professorship. Trinity College, its board of trustees, and its alumni rallied splendidly to Bassett's defense, Trinity College established its reputation as a liberal institution, and the *South Atlantic Quarterly* went on its way in freedom, not a freedom to be at any time abused, but to be used in the cause of justice, order, and progress. That is, it did not become a sort of North Carolina *North Briton,* but continued on its course as one of the leaders in a great restoration movement in the whole South.

The author asserts just and extensive claims to pre-eminence for the *South Atlantic Quarterly* in the field of education. Frankly, one doubts whether the magazine "was delighted to see the passing of the old order in the South." If one knows something about the qualities of the men responsible for the *South Atlantic Quarterly* and those supporting it with their pens, one would like to rephrase that

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statement and say that the magazine was delighted to see the courage, honesty, and democracy of the Old South flow in new and better channels. One doubts also whether the magazine acclaimed and advocated industrialism as such, rather than rejoiced in a homely way to see the South grow prosperous. It is hardly like the South to sharpen these changes into controversial issues.

Professor Hamilton confesses failure in one early avowed purpose of the *South Atlantic Quarterly,* namely, "to foster literary activity in the South." He is perhaps too pessimistic. The journal did a great deal and possibly could hardly have done more. Much depends on how one is to go about the fostering of literary activity. In its reviewing the *South Atlantic Quarterly* was perhaps not quick to take up with the newest styles, since it had no staff of smart reviewers on the lookout for new things. Its editors seem to have operated in a dignified way with such brains as they had at their disposal, and very good brains they were.

The book has in it thirty-five interesting and well-chosen examples of the sort of thing the *South Atlantic Quarterly* has published. It begins with "The Reconstruction of Southern Literary Thought" by Henry Nelson Snyder, which, with a touch of courtliness, is sound, thoughtful, and scholarly. One must approve the perspicacity, even the sharp severity, of John Carlisle Kilgo's "Some Phases of Southern Education" and the clear good sense and fine spirit of John Spencer Bassett's "Stirring up of the Fires of Race Antipathy." Further on in the book is an address by Thomas Fleming Parker, mill executive, that is comparable to these. It is called "The South Carolina Cotton Mill Village—A Manufacturer's View." It needs wide distribution at this day, for the author was a responsible citizen. There is something distinguished in Daniel Coit Gilman's "Sidney Lanier; Reminiscences and Letters." The reviewer, although knowing Lanier well enough, had never had a glimpse of Gilman before, surely a great man. There is something highly intelligent and, in a scientific way, prophetic in William Howell Pegram's "The Problem of the Constitution of Matter." One likes Edwin Mims's essay on Walter Hines Page and an essay by the late Newman White on Shelley and his biographers. Walter Fuller Taylor's "Mark Twain and the Machine Age" and Richmond C. Beatty's "Whitman's Political Thought" are both enlightening. As to the essay by the late Katharine Gilbert on "What Is Philosophy?" one may remark that only complete comprehension can speak so simply and clearly on such a subject. John Abbot Clark's "On First Looking into Benson's *Fitzgerald,*" although indirect and most polite, is certainly damaging to "the greatest of living poets." For downright excitement and suspense, however, there is nothing in the book, or almost anywhere else, that surpasses John M. Gibson's "The Father of Modern Gynecology."

University of Missouri HARDIN CRAIG

GESCHICHTE VON SÜDAFRIKA. By *Oskar Hintrager.* (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg. 1952. Pp. 507. DM 30.)

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WRITING this history of South Africa fulfills a lifelong ambition of the author which originated when he served with the Boers during the Boer War and persisted while he was in the German colonial service in Southwest Africa and while he was Direktor der Reichsstelle für das Auswanderungswesen in Berlin, 1920–1933. The 502 footnotes presented, although technically faulty and confused, indicate that Hintrager has read widely in Dutch, Afrikaans, and German, and occasionally in English. There is no bibliography. The general histories chiefly relied upon are those of Theal, Walker, Gie, and Stockenström, and the most frequently cited works are those of Eduard Moritz, *Die Deutschen am Kap unter der holländischen Herrschaft, 1652–1806* (Weimar, 1938) and *Die deutsche Einwanderung in die niederländische Kapkolonie, 1652–1806* (Ludwigsburg, 1943). American readers will be surprised to find no reference to Cory, de Kiewiet, Macmillan, Marais, or the *Cambridge History of the British Empire*. Hintrager does not take the precaution of citing works presenting the British point of view where it strongly conflicts with the Afrikander interpretation.

Although advanced as a general history of South Africa from the earliest times to the present day, Hintrager's work lacks balance. Not only does it give inadequate attention to the native and colored peoples, to economic and social problems, and to intellectual history other than the origin and development of Afrikaans, but the British "imperial factor" and English-speaking South Africans seem to be regarded simply as foils for Afrikander nationalism. Attention is so sharply focused that Cape Colony *per se* almost disappears from view once the Voortrekkers set forth, and Natal fades away as the Trekkers go back over the Drakensberg. Quite naturally, German Southwest Africa receives considerable attention.

Hintrager develops a thesis which he and his publishers appear to hope will popularize his book in Germany. Moderately stated, the thesis is that South Africa is far more German in *Blut* and *Kultur* than has generally been admitted, especially by English-language writers. To prove his point, Hintrager, wherever possible, gives the *Stammvater* and *Urheimat* of prominent Afrikanders bearing *gute deutsche Namen* and makes the most of statistics showing the predominance of German over Dutch male immigrants to the Cape in the eighteenth century (plate opposite p. 113, pp. 117 ff.). Other evidence ranges from architecture to comparison of the Taal with *Plattdeutsch*. One passage seriously discusses the problem of determining the exact percentage of German blood in present-day Afrikanders (pp. 119–20), and others note that the carved figures on the base of the Krüger memorial and portraits of Krüger and Hofmeyr are typically German or *niederdeutsch* in appearance (pp. 121, 466). It is doubtful, however, whether Hintrager is justified in concluding, as he seems to conclude, that present-day Germans and Afrikanders are *sehr nahe verwandte Stammesgenossen* (p. 121) or that South African *Kultur* is basically *niederdeutsch* (see the *Nachwort*). Most historians would take it as their task to analyze the development of a unique

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Afrikander outlook and way of life in the special South African environment rather than to seek out a European ancestry for Afrikanderism.

There seems no reason to recommend Hintrager's history to American readers in preference to available works in English. Those who read German easily may, however, find it a useful mirror of foreign-language, anti-British interpretations of South African affairs. Malan's followers may possibly see in this book further "evidence" of German friendship and sympathetic understanding.

Long Beach State College RICHARD H. WILDE

THE CARIBBEAN COMMISSION: BACKGROUND OF COOPERATION IN THE WEST INDIES. By *Bernard L. Poole,* Associate Professor of History, College of Charleston. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1951. Pp. xix, 303. $5.50.)

THE Caribbean islands and adjacent mainland were developed by several powers and, up to our own aerial age, were singularly isolated from each other. Identical conditions including a tropical environment, a lush soil, the creation of vast estates normally owned by absentees, the introduction of slaves and their ultimate emancipation nevertheless created a common pattern of life interesting to the sociologist, historian, and economist alike.

In the British, French, Dutch, and American (formerly Spanish and Danish) Antilles, economy has become uniformly restrictive, concentrating on a few cash export crops for unstable overseas markets; population has got out of hand; work has grown scarce and is seasonally intermittent; annual earnings have been incredibly low; plantation owners have lived in luxury while workers have been plunged into abject poverty; and there has been a marked concentration of unemployed hands in urban areas with resultant disorders. Puerto Rican hostility toward the United States and radical movements in the European possessions have been natural outgrowths of the situation.

The concept of colonial self-help in partnership with the motherland emerged to meet the crisis and found active expression in the creation of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission in 1942 during the emergency of the late war. The French and Dutch governments became members of an expanded Caribbean Commission two years later. The Caribbean Research Council and the West Indian Conference both emerged as adjunct bodies. Kent House in Port of Spain, Trinidad, headquarters of the commission's central secretariat, is today the center of one of the greatest colonial experiments of all time. The commission, the council, and the conference are all merely advisory bodies offering counsel on social and economic matters to the governments concerned, but their recommendations are being followed and a rise in the plane of Caribbean life and a new spirit of hope are already discernible.

This study, by a former Air Force instructor, should rightfully have been titled

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"The Caribbean Problem," for the first 143 pages are devoted to a somewhat pedestrian "handbook" survey of Antillean realities area by area, based upon a limited number of documents, secondary works, and the *Statesman's Year-Book* while only 99 pages are devoted to the inception of the commission, its organization and achievements, and these are followed by a general summary. Such proportion is difficult to explain. Much interesting information is, however, presented, the data is factually correct, and the book is very readable.

Ohio State University LOWELL RAGATZ

Ancient and Medieval History

THE EXACT SCIENCES IN ANTIQUITY. By *O. Neugebauer.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1952. Pp. ix, 191. $5.00.)

IN this day of half-digested syntheses and ill-conceived sociological investigations into the history of science, it is a relief to hear our most productive historian of antique astronomy and mathematics assert that he is "exceedingly sceptical of any attempt to reach a 'synthesis'—whatever this term may mean." For Neugebauer "specialization is the only basis of sound knowledge."

This volume bears out his philosophy of history. It does not pretend to be an over-all history of the exact sciences in antiquity—in spite of its title. Rather it is a carefully selected and prepared group of essays on Egyptian and Babylonian mathematics and astronomy, with a short added discussion of some problems of Greek mathematics and astronomy. Insight is gained into the subject by means of the "problem" method. This method consists in centering the discussion on some given document or fragment of a document and analyzing it in great detail. Neugebauer by this method of analysis is not only able to introduce the reader to the kinds of sources but he is able to draw general conclusions on the nature of the topic under discussion.

The first chapter describes the highly general Babylonian system of numeration—sexagesimal in nature, with its all-important place-value notation. The next essay deals with the more important features of Babylonian algebra, as well as with the widely used tables of reciprocals, and other similar topics. This discussion of Babylonian mathematics is rounded out in the third chapter with a lesson on the decipherment of a single mathematical tablet, with the philological and mathematical conclusions to be derived from such a decipherment.

From Babylonian mathematics Neugebauer turns in the next chapter to Egyptian mathematics and astronomy. The additive nature of Egyptian mathematics is illustrated by examples of multiplication and division. The crude concepts and procedures of Egyptian fractions are discussed; and the celebrated "table of twos" is analyzed. Egyptian astronomy is characterized as being on a very elementary level so far as mathematical procedures are concerned, although the

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Egyptian official calendar is described as "the only intelligent calendar which ever existed in human history."

Chapter VI is the master essay in this volume. It is, in my opinion, the best forty pages on the difficult subject of Babylonian astronomy in any language. It makes a fitting introduction to Neugebauer's papers on this subject and to the classical works of Kugler and his predecessors. It deals mainly with Babylonian lunar theory as illustrated by an analysis of the various columns of a lunar ephemeris. From this analysis we get an excellent view of the rather remarkable mathematical procedures developed to reduce complex functions to a series of linear approximations.

A final chapter on the origins and transmission of Hellenistic science gives fresh insights into some very old problems. The similarity between the geometric algebra involved in problems of "application of areas" and the algebraic procedures of the Babylonians is pointed up. Equally interesting are Neugebauer's suggestions regarding the persistence of Babylonian linear methods in Greek astronomy on a "far wider extent than one could possibly have deduced from the silence of Ptolemy and his commentators."

The volume includes abundant critical bibliographical references. Prepared from Neugebauer's "Messenger Lectures," these chapters are worthy successors to those of James Henry Breasted, the initiator of that series.

University of Wisconsin MARSHALL CLAGETT

SPARTA. By *H. Michell,* Professor Emeritus of Political Economy in McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1952. Pp. 348. $7.00.)

THIS book should have a wide appeal since it deals with a subject of universal interest. The ancient Spartans influenced Greek politics and philosophy more strongly than any other people except the Athenians. Their way of life, constitution, and form of government seemed to Plato and other thinkers a mirage of the ideal state. The Spartans still interest the modern political scientist because certain features of their culture have reappeared in fascist Germany and communist Russia. Their asceticism and discipline, their secretiveness and air of mystery have always excited curiosity in others, but they did nothing to gratify that curiosity. Like Russia today, they lived behind an "Iron Curtain." Perpetually mobilized for war they let out only such information as would confuse the outside world. Even Thucydides confessed ignorance about the true state of Spartan affairs. Having no historians or writers of their own, they have permitted posterity to reconstruct their history from garbled and secondary sources. That Professor Michell leaves many problems unsolved is proof of his intellectual honesty and a sign that his aim is not to impress but to give as true a picture of Spartan life as our sources permit.

After a brief chronological sketch of Spartan history, Michell devotes the rest

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of his book to a full discussion of various aspects of Spartan life: the social classes within the state, the subject population such as the perioeci and the helots, the constitution, the system of education, land tenure, military and naval organization, money and public finance, and the custom of eating together in public mess halls. In discussing each of these topics he presents, in convenient form, the relevant ancient evidence and the opinions of modern scholars. He handles the material in an objective and judicious manner and does not strive to reach conclusions not warranted by the evidence. With some of these conclusions this reviewer is not in complete agreement. In explaining the peculiar difference in character between Spartans and Athenians, he states that "the Spartans were Dorians, the Athenians were Ionians, as different as chalk from cheese" (p. 3). This is reasoning in a circle. As a matter of fact the early Spartans were a culture-loving people, who welcomed poets and musicians into their midst, made beautiful pottery, and sent athletes to the Olympic games. After the seventh century a marked change came over them. They got tough and warlike, lost interest in culture, and isolated themselves from the other Greek states. This change seems to have been an aftermath of their desperate struggle with the Messenians, whom they had previously conquered and enslaved. The effort of holding down a large and sullen population apt to revolt at the first opportunity demanded constant vigilance and stringent discipline. Sparta became and remained an armed camp. The author rightly insists that the perioeci, who lived subject to Sparta in self-governing communities, were Dorians of the same stock as the Spartans, whereas the helots were non-Dorians. The latter, though kept down, were not as harshly or cruelly treated as is commonly believed. The Spartan constitution, as clearly described in chapters IV and V, was a blend between a democracy and the dictatorship of a small upper class. It employed, though Michell does not call it that, the principle of "checks and balances." The two kings were constitutional rulers and shared executive powers with a committee of five ephors elected annually by the people. The latter, through their control of the secret police and success in setting one king against the other, exercised almost absolute power limited only by their loss of immunity when their term expired. The legislature consisted of a senate of twenty-eight elders elected for life and a general assembly. Bills originated only in the senate, and on being whipped into final form were sent to the assembly for enactment without change.

Next to the chapters on the constitution, I think, the most interesting are those on education and public meals. In the last chapter the author explains how the very qualities that brought the Spartans to the heights of success led to their ultimate downfall. Removed from the framework of their rigid discipline, they lacked the power to adapt themselves to new conditions.

Professor Michell seems to have written this book several years before its publication since he has not brought his bibliography fully up to date. I note the absence of any reference to the following publications: E. Cavaignac's *Sparta* (Paris, 1948), the full-length study by K. M. T. Chrimes, *Ancient Sparta* (Man-

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chester, 1949) recently reviewed by the author himself in *Classical Philology* (1951), the article by N. G. L. Hammond in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1950) on the dating of the reforms of Lycurgus, the article by P. Cloché in *Les études classiques* (1949) on the role and function of the Spartan kings, and finally E. Zierke's *Agesilaos* (Gelnhausen, 1936).

Nevertheless Professor Michell gives us the fruit of much labor and patient research. The expert will admire it and the average reader will read it with understanding and pleasure.

Chapel Hill, North Carolina CEDRIC A. YEO

A CONFLICT OF IDEAS IN THE LATE ROMAN EMPIRE: THE CLASH BETWEEN THE SENATE AND VALENTINIAN I. By *Andrew Alföldi*. Translated by *Harold Mattingly*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1952. Pp. vi, 151. $3.75.)

STUDENTS of Roman history will welcome the new volume on the age of Valentinian I by Andrew Alföldi. It has been excellently translated by Harold Mattingly. The rather moving introduction shows the difficulties of productive scholarship in the cellars of the University of Budapest during the recent war. The book is a sequel to his earlier work on the age of Constantine which described "the fight waged by the aristocracy of the city of Rome in defense of its ancient conceptions of religion and ethics against the new Christian Government." Alföldi's new volume treats of this conflict during the age of Valentinian I.

The Pannonian (not German) emperor representing the masses and the imperial bureaucracy struggled against the senate and its hereditary positions, honors, prerogatives, wealth, and paganism. Much of the actual conflict was concerned with the trials of senators accused of practicing magic. Valentinian regarded such activity as dangerous to the state and to himself, although he maintained a remarkable religious toleration of pagan and Christian throughout his reign. Valentinian emerges from this book a tolerant, strong, wise, and almost heroic defender of justice and his people, indeed so perfect that while one suspects the picture of the emperor one also wonders if the black picture of the senate is entirely justified. In other words it seems that Alföldi has not been entirely objective in the treatment of his hero, Valentinian, and his villain, the senate. For instance the senators as a group are called effeminate on only the scantiest evidence. The attack on the veracity of Ammianus' evaluation of Valentinian seems a bit overstated and not well supported by ancient sources. This attack on Ammianus, however, is very important for Alföldi's re-evaluation of Valentinian, since Seeck accepted Ammianus' views in his *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt,* and this influential work has led to the unfavorable idea of Valentinian held by most historians today. But Alföldi presents little evidence to show that Ammianus' aim really was, as he asserts, to "paint Valentinian and his brother as black as one-sided hatred can contrive."

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The book is generally well written with lively similes and a minimum of such verbal infelicities as the "loveliest . . . evidence of his moderation." In short this is an interesting if not completely convincing reinterpretation of Valentinian and Ammianus. It is perhaps not as satisfying as Alföldi's earlier work on the age of Constantine, but like that book it is very important reading for all interested in the Roman world of the fourth century.

University of Kansas JAMES E. SEAVER

EXPLORATIONS IN EASTERN PALESTINE. By *Nelson Glueck*. Volume IV. Part I, TEXT. Part II, POTTERY NOTES AND PLATES. [Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Vols. XXV–XXVIII, for 1945–1949.] (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research. 1951. Pp. xix, 423; 425–711, plates. $12.00.)

NELSON Glueck's study of ancient sites in Transjordan has already attained the status of one of the great archaeological achievements of our time. It bids fair to rival in historic significance the travels of Edward Robinson, of more than a century ago, though differing in purpose and method by all that has in the meantime gone into the making of archaeological science.

Glueck's journeys were begun in 1933, and continued intermittently until 1947. He was early rewarded with phenomenal discoveries, yet the wealth of less spectacular evidence he has assembled relative to the fluctuating history of the region is doubtless of greater importance. Previous reports were published in the American Schools *Annuals* XIV, XV, and XVIII–XIX. The present work brings the account to conclusion.

The explorations here related were carried forward in the difficult years 1939–40, 1942–47. They cover the region lying between the eastern tributaries of the Jordan and known variously in the Bible as Gilead or Half of Gilead. But the journeys pushed far out in the Wadi Firhan, into the desert of north Arabia, and as well entailed concentration on the close grouping of sites in the Jordan valley.

The account is in the form of notes, varying in length from a few lines to several pages, on the large number of sites studied. It is thus a source book, rather than an organized history, although the outline of Glueck's own reconstruction is commonly discernible. In total, the work is a notable demonstration of the facilities made available to the historian by the methods of modern archaeological research. Glueck reads history from abandoned sites with a certainty and immediacy surpassing that possible from ancient documents. It is a different sort of history, however. In it the individual seldom appears, and if at all then is only dimly discerned. Instead the story is of whole races and cultures, with periods of a few centuries normally as minimal units of the time process.

Human occupation of the area extends well back into Paleolithic times, although the population was then sparse. It increased in the Neolithic period, and especially in the Chalcolithic, when the Jordan valley in particular supported a

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thriving culture. Glueck takes occasion more than once to speak sharply of Toynbee's error in stating that the Jordan valley was never the home of a culture. The criticism might well be moderated; in an undertaking of such scope as Toynbee's it is relatively easy to find points of disagreement, yet his work remains one of the significant achievements of our time.

The region has been notable for the fluctuations of its sedentary life, to which indeed location on the margin of the desert leaves it open. Popular explanation rests in a theory of cycles of climatic change, in which settled life has advanced or retreated with the line of adequate rainfall. But Glueck adds conclusive evidence to the arguments of others, showing that the potent factor has been the energy and political fortune of the inhabitants. The achievements of the Nabateans, a people of remarkable enterprise for whom Glueck expresses high admiration, and the collapse of the Eastern Roman Empire provide cases in point. Nonetheless the cultural vicissitudes of the area exceed the fortunes of more fertile lands in provocative questions for the historian. When thriving districts and well-built towns revert periodically to the stark desolation of the desert, with nothing but their mournful ruins to tell of the eager life and the human hopes and endeavors that once throbbed through their busy streets, then what is the meaning of history? Is it no more than a transient phenomenon, meaningful, as Ecclesiastes believed, only for the individual of the moment? Or does it possess some comprehending power which gathers up and contains all that has been achieved, and is itself enriched in the process?

Southern Methodist University WILLIAM A. IRWIN

LE PÉLOPONNÈSE BYZANTIN JUSQU'EN 1204. By *Antoine Bon.* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1951. Pp. xii, 230.)

THIS book, written in the best scholarly tradition, contains virtually all that is known of the history of the Peloponnesus during the Byzantine period down to 1204. It consists of five chapters and three appendixes. In the first chapter the author treats of the period from the domination of the Romans to the reign of Justinian and expresses the view that the great events of the political and religious life of this period did not radically affect the Peloponnesus. The changes which occurred in the seventh and eighth centuries constitute the principal subject of the second chapter. The third chapter is devoted to the civil and military organization of the peninsula, while the fourth deals with its social, economic, intellectual, and artistic life. In the fifth chapter the state of the Peloponnesus on the eve of the Fourth Crusade is examined. The first appendix consists of a table containing the cities of the Peloponnesus which are cited by the geographers of late Roman and early Byzantine times. In the second appendix we are given a list of the imperial functionaries known to have served in the Peloponnesus together with their titles and essential bibliography. The churches of the Pelopon-

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nesus from the ninth to the twelfth century as they are listed in a number of documents make up the content of the third appendix. There is also an index.

The part of the book comprehended in chapter II will no doubt arouse the greatest interest because it deals with one of the most critical periods in the history of the Balkan peninsula and of Greece. In the period between the reign of Justinian to the end of the eighth century we have the invasions of the Avars, the definite settlement of the Slavs, the foundation of the Bulgarian kingdom, and the Byzantine offensive for the re-establishment of the prestige of the empire. That these events had a definite effect upon the fate of the Peloponnesus is now generally acknowledged, but how profound that effect was is still very much a controversial question. The fragmentary and ambiguous nature of the literary sources is, of course, the principal reason for this. The reviewer has dealt with some of the literary texts elsewhere and has expressed the view that certain among them yield definite information. Bon is of the opinion, however, that these texts can neither be accepted nor rejected unless they can be controlled by information drawn from other sources: archaeology, for instance, and such materials as seals and inscriptions. The information which these sources yield is very meager and not free from controversy, but this meagerness is in itself an indication of the state of the Peloponnesus in the seventh and eighth centuries. No monuments anterior to the seventh century, Bon observes, have survived intact and to our knowledge no monuments seem to have been erected in the seventh and eighth centuries. Nor are any imperial functionaries for the Peloponnesus attested for this period. As for the coins which have been found at Corinth, they become rare in the lower town beginning with the reign of Heraclius, but remain numerous enough on the Acrocorinth until the reign of Constans II (642–668). Evidence drawn from toponymes attest also to important displacements of population. Comparing the findings with the contents of the literary texts, Bon concludes that it is not impossible that the first Avaro-Slav attack between 578 and 584 penetrated the Peloponnesus. It was during the first half of the seventh century, however, that certain parts of the peninsula were overwhelmed by the Slavs. "From the middle of the seventh century and during all of the eighth . . . the Peloponnesus has no relations with the Byzantium: it does not appear improbable that during this same period, no Roman, i.e., no functionary coming from the capital, was able to penetrate there." Thus, Bon accepts only in part the testimony of the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* according to which Byzantium lost control of the western part of the Peloponnesus as early as 587. In the opinion of the reviewer Bon is here rather too cautious, for the evidence which he has produced justifies accepting in full the testimony of the *Chronicle of Monemvasia*. What apparently has made him hesitate is the evidence of coins concerning Corinth. But Corinth, recovered by the Byzantines shortly after its devastation by the Avaro-Slavs during the reign of Maurice, must have become purely a military station, hence the apparent lack of any economic activity. The fairly large number of coins belonging

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to the first half of the seventh century which have been found at Corinth should be associated with the voyage Constans II made to Sicily during which he is known to have stopped at Athens and probably also at Corinth.

Rutgers University PETER CHARANIS

DAILY LIVING IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY: BASED ON THE OBSERVATIONS OF ALEXANDER NECKAM IN LONDON AND PARIS. By *Urban Tigner Holmes, Jr.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1952. Pp. ix, 337. $3.85.)

THIS is an altogether attractive and useful book. Designed "as background in mediaeval civilization for students of Old French and Provençal," it gives information about everything from palaces to pastries, from Gothic arches to garderobe pits. One can discover here that a twelfth-century test for chastity was to place a lodestone on a sleeping woman's head (p. 140), that Paris in the twelfth as in the twentieth century displayed more food and ate better than the rest of Europe (p. 62), that even seamen could sometimes read (p. 229), that Montpellier was "a kind of style center for the best-dressed man and woman of the twelfth century" (p. 149), and many more such curiosities. Only one who has tried to write a historical novel can fully appreciate the difficulty of discovering the kind of detail which Professor Holmes presents in compact and readable form. And novelists as well as students of literature and history are bound to find here a treasure-trove.

The author has imposed upon himself two limitations which make his achievement the more remarkable. He has chosen to confine himself to the last fifty years of the century, using from earlier and later times only such material as he can be certain is valid. That is, detailed descriptions outside the twelfth century are used "only where twelfth century texts attest the existence of the object or practice and where it is reasonable to expect no important variation in detail." A large portion of his material comes from Neckam's *De nominibus utensilium*. Indeed he includes an almost complete translation of this fascinating document and presents his material as a narrative reconstruction of Neckam's life from 1178 to 1186. But he has drawn from innumerable other sources, limiting himself almost entirely to originals. The book is evidently learned yet not in the least pompous.

Indeed one criticism might be that he has incorporated a few current American colloquialisms which may irritate otherwise enthusiastic foreign readers and make the work less intelligible to later generations. Another is the occasional repetition of individual items such as that *henaps,* or drinking goblets, were sometimes made of glass (pp. 144, 155), or that the figures in the capital of one of the columns incorporated in the Cloisters at Tryon Park, New York, are thought to be those of Henry II and Elinor of Aquitaine (pp. 213, 247). But these are after all minor criticisms. The use of the narrative form, hallowed as it is in medieval tradition,

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presents the author with awkward problems of organization, as he himself recognizes. It involves him in a last chapter of miscellanea, but this too is in good medieval tradition and does not seriously detract from the value of the work.

New Jersey College for Women MARGARET HASTINGS

VITA E COMMERCIO NEI NOTAI GENOVESI DEI SECOLI XII E XIII. Parte Prima: LA VITA CIVILE. By *Vito Vitale.* [Atti della Società ligure di storia patria, Vol. LXXII, fasc. 1.] (Genoa: the Society. 1949. Pp. 103.)

MEDIAEVAL ORVIETO: THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF AN ITALIAN CITY-STATE, 1157–1334. By *Daniel Waley,* Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1952. Pp. xxv, 170. $4.00.)

THE two books here noticed should be of interest to students of medieval economic, social, and Italian history.

Professor Vitale is the master of all who concern themselves with medieval Genoa. This brief study, based directly on published and unpublished notarial sources, is one of a number which he has already published or is planning to publish in the field. Here he adds a wealth of detail to the picture we have had of family life, education, literary and scholarly activity, clothing and home furnishings, and so on. He studies the lives and interests of professional men, nobles, craftsmen, slaves, and women. In his opening pages and in a brief appendix he cites and weighs the literature and sources. Incidentally, scholars can now hope that his great work on Genoa of the thirteenth century, smashed in the printing house by wartime bombing but rescued in the form of galley proofs, will soon be reset and finally published. The study here noticed is designed to form part of the monographic underpinning of that greater work.

The "typical" Italian commune was the "unlucky" one which was eaten up by the lucky one or by the Regno or by the Patrimony, not the Florences and Venices and Milans. Yet the literature in English upon the "unlucky" communes is negligible and even in Italy research in their histories is considerably dominated by genealogical, antiquarian, and like preoccupations. Professor Waley makes available in English the history of one out of the hundreds of unlucky communes, of the rise, glory, and fading of Orvieto. Furthermore, the study is in itself a gem.

He bases his work on unpublished archival materials or on rechecked published sources. As far as can be judged here remotely, without chance to verify his use of those materials, he has done his work most competently. More than that, he presents his findings with shrewd understanding of both their local and their general significance. The bibliography (pp. 159–64) contains a critique of the Orvietan chronicles.

There is presented a wealth of information on the origins and activities of Orvieto's political parties. Here is a grass-roots story of who went Guelf and why,

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of who chose the Ghibellines and why. The play of personal, family, and communal rivalries, of social and economic interests, upon the more general line-up of parties, is described effectively. The product is a picture of complexity and fluidity which stands in contrast to easy generalizations about how the old nobles became Ghibelline and the rich merchants became Guelf, and so on. There is a glimpse of the role of the city "civil service," made up of notaries and men of law, in deciding policies, and of the role of the landowning craftsmen too.

Orvieto also saw its heretics play an important part in communal life and politics before and during the age of Innocent III. The ups and downs of Hohenstaufen and Angevin are seen in new perspective from the streets and council halls of Orvieto, by citizens of a commune which desperately needed always to be on the right side when the fighting was over. The rise of a modest peasant family (Monaldeschi) to great riches, high nobility, and to tyranny in the city, and the decay of an authentically ancient noble family (Aldobrandeschi), are side stories which weave in and out of the political and social history of Orvieto.

The final chapter sketches as epilogue the story of the commune after the life went out of it, of the ghost city of the later Middle Ages. In that chapter too is continued the story of how, chiefly through an accumulation of small measures, the theoretical authority of the Papal Curia was transformed into actual government, and the commune was absorbed in fact into the Patrimony.

University of Wisconsin ROBERT L. REYNOLDS

HISTOIRE DU COMMERCE DE MARSEILLE. Volume II: DE 1291 A 1423, by *Edouard Baratier;* DE 1423 A 1480, by *Félix Reynaud*. [Publiée par la Chambre de Commerce de Marseille, sous la direction de Gaston Rambert.] (Paris: Librairie Plon. 1951. Pp. ix, 920.)

A COLLECTION of medieval notarial registers presents by its very bulk a forbidding aspect that seldom invites more than a series of specialized and isolated studies. It is to the credit of the authors of this work that they have thoroughly combed almost six hundred Massilian registers and emerged with a sweeping account of two centuries of economic development that is formidable in its documentation.

The picture they give is of major significance. Baratier concludes that Massilian commerce was in decline in the late thirteenth century, that this decline became precipitous in the last half of the fourteenth century, and that by 1423 the trade of Marseilles had virtually disappeared. This long decline was accompanied by a drop in population that he estimates, ingeniously and convincingly, at 75 to 80 per cent between 1263 and 1423. Reynaud traces a slow and somewhat intermittent recovery that set in around 1435 and left Marseilles again an important center by 1480. Both authors advance their theses with a wealth of detailed information that makes the absence of an index regrettable. Prefixed to the work is

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a valuable bibliography, and appended to it are seven chapters devoted to such subjects as commercial contracts, ships, weights and measures, and moneys.

If the general developments shown by Baratier and Reynaud appear incontestable, the reasons offered for them are perhaps not fully convincing. Both authors rely essentially upon political factors to explain their respective phenomena of decline and slow revival. Baratier attributes the decline primarily to the policies of Charles of Anjou and his successors, and especially to their incessant Italian wars—wars that entailed the transformation of the port of Marseilles into a naval base and its merchant marine into an Angevin navy; he does allow as secondary factors the Christian loss of Syria, the growth of Avignon under the popes, the establishment of the water route from Italy to Flanders, the Black Death, the Hundred Years' War, and the recrudescence of piracy in the western Mediterranean. Reynaud lays the revival of trade after 1435 largely to the final abandonment of the Angevin claims to Naples and to the policies of Louis XI of France.

It is a striking fact that in the case of all three French towns with large extant collections of medieval notarial registers, it is the oldest surviving register (1248 for Marseilles, 1261 for Perpignan, and 1293 for Montpellier) that indicates the greatest commercial activity. From such hints as this we may suspect that the decline of Marseilles was not an isolated instance, and thus may have had rather more profound causes than the ambitions of its rulers, however much they may have aided the process. And a concept inherent in this volume—a decline of trade from the late thirteenth through the early fifteenth centuries coupled with greater individual accumulations of capital and with important advances in commercial techniques—may well be applicable to a wider field than Marseilles. It is the great achievement of its authors that this volume is a significant step toward a better understanding of late medieval economic history. More studies like it for other areas are badly needed.

Queens College RICHARD W. EMERY

ITALIAN MERCHANTS AND SHIPPING IN SOUTHAMPTON, 1270–1600. By *Alwyn A. Ruddock*. [Southampton Records Series.] (Southampton: University College; Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1951. Pp. 300. 25*s*.)

MISS Ruddock has again established herself as a first-rate economic historian of medieval England, more particularly as a historian of the commerce of Southampton. Previously she has discussed the Italian fleets in medieval England, alien hosting in Southampton, the appearance of the London capitalists in Southampton and the subsequent decline of Southampton in the Tudor period. In this volume she examines "the activities of Italian merchants in Southampton . . . [their] personnel and organization . . . the place [of Southampton] in trade between Italy and northern Europe." Both the strong influence of the Italian colony upon

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the local community there and the exceptional municipal records make Southampton an excellent subject for such a survey.

After an introductory chapter on the early Italian contacts with England, Miss Ruddock concentrates on Southampton, but not exclusively. Unlike her Southampton merchants, she sees the trade of their city in its relationship to other English ports, especially to London and to the interior. Very convincingly she demonstrates that the shift in sheep-raising prompted the Italians to change their ports of call to get the best wool available and consequently helped the commercial development of the southern port. She discusses the rise, importance, and decline of Venetian, Florentine, and Genoese merchants there and returns to an earlier argument to show that the rise of London and its merchants, not the disappearance of the Italians, caused the city's decline. The anti-alien movement was less strong in Southampton than in London, but still vigorous enough to bankrupt many of the Italians. But very properly the author also points to the anti-English activities of the Genoese when the English merchants sent their cargoes into the Mediterranean in their own or Spanish vessels. In other chapters she discusses the commodities and organization of trade, and the social and political status of the resident Italians. There are several delightful pages on the Florentine Paolo Morelli, on the less fortunate Filippo Cini, and an entire chapter on the Marini of Genoa. On occasion the many trade figures are confusing and possibly graphs in the text or in an appendix would have added clarity.

In addition to using local and national materials in England the author has dipped into the archival materials at Venice and Florence. She pays tribute to the richness of the Genoese archives, but does not use them; no one who has worked in them will be too critical on that account.

Minor errors are few. There is a wrong period on page 50; on page 76 the distance between Genoa and Savona should be thirty miles not eight; there is a typographical gremlin on page 248.

The "Southampton Records Series" deserves praise for the very presentable format, and the clarity of type it has given to an excellent book.

University of Cincinnati HILMAR C. KRUEGER

GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH, *HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE:* A VARIANT VERSION EDITED FROM MANUSCRIPTS. By *Jacob Hammer,* Hunter College. [The Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication No. 57.] (Cambridge: the Academy. 1951. Pp. viii, 292. $10.00.)

As Hammer indicates in his preface, his edition of a variant of the *Historia Regum Britanniae* is chiefly an attempt to hack out a clearing on the fringes of the jungle of Galfridian texts. Incidentally, he has given the reader more interested in Geoffrey's story than in textual details an edition with pleasant format, normalized spelling, and modern punctuation, and with indexes of proper names and works quoted and referred to.

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The text is based upon five manuscripts. Four of them contain, in whole or in part, a variant on Geoffrey which Hammer attributes to some unidentified Welsh scholar. The fifth, a variant on a variant, contains a re-editing of the previous Welsh edition in combination with the "vulgate" version. This last is attributed by Hammer to one Madoc of Edeyrn mentioned in prefatory verses.

A cursory comparison of Hammer's text with that in Griscom's edition reveals hundreds of changes in detail but not a single important alteration in the story. Changes run from the substitution of one word for another to the addition, omission, and the recasting of Geoffrey's material. Apparently the editor thought no better of Geoffrey's rhetoric than does this reviewer. Occasionally the order of the material is changed. In the second variant (that of Madoc) these changes in order may arise from the reinsertion of material from the vulgate into the first variant.

On the whole, the author of the first variant seems to have shortened the vulgate by summary and omission and to have reduced some of Geoffrey's more annoying tricks of style, such as chain-stitch repetition (*ipsos a tergo caedunt, caesos prosternunt, prostrates despoliant,* etc.), the repetition of verbs in the active and passive (*vulnerabant et vulnerabantur, prosternebant et prosternebantur*), and set phrases like *vitam cum sanguine eructavit*. As Hammer remarks, the first editor has interpolated a little material from Bede and other sources and has introduced a good deal of Biblical phraseology, which, as Tatlock points out, is rare in Geoffrey. Hammer also observes that the variant suppresses unpleasant detail, and I believe one might add that the moral tone is somewhat more severe. For example, see the animadversions on the goings-on of Aurelius with Igerna (VIII, 13, p. 221).

One may also suspect that the omission of the long speech of Hoel (IX, 14, p. 238) and the consequently greater importance conferred on Auguselus as well as the omission of Salamo's rebuke to the Britons for their weakness (XI, 11, p. 257) may reflect a certain annoyance with Geoffrey's continual partiality to the Bretons (and Cornish).

Insignificant as the variations from the vulgate are so far as concerns the story itself, they are both numerous and great enough to be extremely important in determining the relation of the text to various Welsh *Bruts*. The next step, it is to be hoped, will be a study of the vulgate texts to determine how many other recensions they represent.

University of Colorado J. D. A. Ogilvy

UGO BENZI: MEDIEVAL PHILOSOPHER AND PHYSICIAN, 1376–1439. By *Dean Putnam Lockwood*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1951. Pp. xvi, 441. $8.00.)

Ugo Benzi, a self-made Italian philosopher and physician, was one of that line of scholars which prepared the way—between the thirteenth and sixteenth

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centuries—for the development of modern physical science. Benzi's place in history is further illustrated by the fact that, although his thought was still medieval, his own son prepared a biography of him which reflected the emerging humanism of a new age. Professor Lockwood views this unpublished biography (of which he provides both the Latin text and an English translation) as "probably the earliest independent and authentic *Life* of a physician in existence."

The author has prepared this study of Benzi's career and writings with extraordinary care, basing it upon a thorough search of all published and unpublished materials in Italian and American collections. The organization of the book is a complicated one, since much of the textual criticism and scholarly apparatus is interspersed throughout the narrative. The Latin writings are printed in appendixes which bulk larger than the text, and which also include further explanations and interpretations—involving some repetition of matters already considered in the study proper. These arrangements may have advantages for specialists who wish to consult the Latin originals but are disconcerting to the general reader.

Yet it seems almost ungracious to mention these points, for there emerges from the whole work a detailed and well-substantiated account of a medieval physician at close range. The value of this for medical history lies in the fact that very few such accounts are available in English. In principle, since a great physician of Benzi's time was an authority on natural philosophy, the present study should also illuminate the history of physical science. In this respect it is somewhat disappointing, largely because most of Benzi's commentaries on logic and Aristotelian physics are lost, but also because little interpretation is provided of such materials as survive. It should be added that such interpretation would be most difficult for anyone not a specialist in the early history of physical thought. And the author does make clear Benzi's interest in scientific method, which included the distinction between methods of discovery and methods of proof, and a conviction that both of these must be continuously employed.

Benzi, although poised on the verge of the Renaissance, illustrates much that was typically medieval in medicine. In order to understand him, one must follow the author's advice to divest oneself of all preconceptions based upon modern medicine. The famous medieval physician was a learned man rather than an investigator. Benzi's first writings were the commentaries noted on logic and physics. Then, after securing professorships in medicine, he prepared commentaries on the standard medical classics—Hippocrates, Galen, and Avicenna. Although the Italian doctor used only Latin sources, these writings were viewed as authoritative and added up to a complete set of "textbooks" for medical education. They were long used as such in the universities and were frequently reprinted in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Benzi's fame, of course, was based not only on erudition but also on his ability to employ this effectively in scholastic disputation. Indeed, his type reminds one far more of the modern jurist than of the present-day medical man.

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Benzi is not to be dismissed, however, as a "mere scholastic." No, only did he teach in a series of Italian universities—moving about as was the custom—but he also wrote on "practical medicine" and even practiced the art after a fashion. What this fashion was, Professor Lockwood explains through a detailed analysis of the doctor's case reports or *consilia.* He also adds an interesting chapter on "Medicine and Physicians in the Fifteenth Century," in which the relations of the "consultant" of the time to patients, patrons, and colleagues is so presented as to enlarge our knowledge of the history of the profession.

The *consilia* were written reports on cases, usually prepared only by "distinguished consultants for . . . distinguished patients *in absentia.*" These were delivered to patients for later guidance, and Lockwood suggests that the only vestige of the form in modern practice is the prescription. Each report first describes and explains the symptoms, then offers advice on regiment and drugs, and adds a prognosis. *Consilia* were apparently introduced during the thirteenth century; and provide thereafter a wealth of information on medical thought and practice.

Benzi's *consilia* indicate that although illnesses were classified in relation to major body parts or organs, there were no such concepts of localization or specificity as have been taken for granted since the early nineteenth century. Illness, although sometimes given a name, was described primarily in terms of the "complexion of the humors" rather than of any specific disease entity. Hence there was no diagnosis in the modern sense. Nor were the elaborate drugs prescribed of any value other than palliative, although the suggested regiment of the "non-naturals" (personal hygiene) was often sensible enough.

All this is to be expected in medieval medicine. But the author, although he warns against applying a modern perspective, feels justified in making certain sharp criticisms. Thus, he finds the "physiology of the humors" simply "fantastic" (p. 49). So it was, in the sense that it merely repeated traditional speculations. The gap between all this learned pretension and the limited resources actually at hand was indeed appalling. Yet the basic notion involved in the ancient humoral pathology (that of a generalized condition related, perhaps, to the state of the blood) has some validity. The concept has been revived in our own day in one form or another, in order to qualify the extreme, nineteenth-century emphasis upon localization and specificity. It also should be recalled that, bizarre as medieval medical thought and practice now seem, much of both survived among the majority of practitioners as late as 1800.

None of these comments is intended to detract from the merits of this study as a whole. Medievalists will find in it much that is enlightening about the life of the times; historians of science have here extensive biographical material and other documentation; and medical historians are indebted to Professor Lockwood for a rare portrait of the medieval physician which should prove eminently useful in their field.

Johns Hopkins University RICHARD HARRISON SHRYOCK

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POLYDORE VERGIL, RENAISSANCE HISTORIAN AND MAN OF LETTERS. By *Denys Hay*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1952. Pp. xiii, 223. $5.00.)

In the prefatory note to his translation of the Tudor section of Polydore Vergil's *Anglica historia* (Camden Series, London, 1950) Denys Hay promised a more general study of its author. Such a study has been wanted for some time. It is amazing that the Italian humanist who was the father of Tudor historiography, in a sense of all modern English historiography, should have had to wait more than four centuries for a book devoted to his life and writings, the more amazing since in the last forty or fifty years Polydore's importance has been generally recognized, and during the same time Britain has been prolific in Tudor studies, often of much slighter figures. In 1892, Wilhelm Busch established Polydore's basic authority for the early Tudor period, a judgment later concurred in by James Gairdner and H. A. L. Fisher. In 1913, Kingford's *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* pointed out the great influence of the *Anglica historia* on subsequent English historians. But for information about Polydore's career and works we have so far had to rely on short notices and scattered articles, the best recently by Mr. Hay, himself.

The want is now supplied and the anomaly ended. This compact, unpretentious volume not only brings together Mr. Hay's previously published researches, chiefly an account of Polydore's life which yields useful light on his writings and an admirable bibliographical study of the Vatican MS and the important printed editions of the *Anglica historia,* with an examination of its value as a source and its influence as a model, but it includes much fresh material as well. One chapter offers all most of us will ever care to know about Polydore's minor works, about the *Adagia* which competed, unintentionally, with a similar book by the great Erasmus, about the *De prodigiis,* and the minor dialogues. Another is a suggestive and thoughtful, if not by any means definitive, consideration of Polydore's most popular book, *De inventoribus rerum,* and its reputation. A considerable section grapples courageously and on the whole successfully with the knotty problem of Polydore's medieval sources, and there is a delightful essay on his Latin style which relates him to his period, illuminates the quality of his mind, and explains in terms of the prevailing humanistic temper his essentially static and (from our point of view) unhistorical approach to history. Hay's conclusions are modest, both as to his subject and as to his own achievements. He does not attempt to magnify Polydore's genius; it was the occasion, not the man, which gave the glory. And Hay is rather at pains to stress the shortcomings of his own study and to point out the many areas in which further work is called for. The reviewer is therefore relieved of any such disagreeable duty. He may content himself with recording that this is a book henceforth indispensable to students of Tudor history and historiography, a model of conciseness, sound scholarship, and pleasant, unobtrusive prose.

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One reservation is a criticism not of this capital book but of the quaint customs of the scholar's trade. Mr. Hay's translation of the *Anglica historia* was prepared, one supposes, on the reasonable assumption that there might be a considerable number of persons with a serious interest in Polydore's writings who lacked enough Latin to use the original. The great gobs of untranslated Latin in the present book indicate an opposite assumption. Unchallenged convention, of course, has dictated the contradiction. How long will it be, one wonders, before it ceases to be beneath the dignity of scholarship to translate, in text or footnotes, long passages cited in a learned tongue?

Columbia University GARRETT MATTINGLY

Modern European History

DIE REFORMATION ALS EPOCHE DER DEUTSCHEN GESCHICHTE. By *Paul Joachimsen.* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1951. Pp. xxiv, 312. DM 15.60.)

LUTHER NOW. By *Hanns Lilje.* Translated by *Carl J. Schindler.* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press. 1952. Pp. xv, 190. $2.25.)

THESE are two distinctly different types of books in style, scope, and objectives. Bishop Lilje's little book is light reading but breathes the grim reality of the prison cell where he was awaiting execution by the Gestapo while it was being written. The volume by Joachimsen is written for the scholar. This distinguished pupil of Ranke needs no introduction to the specialist. Part of this material has already appeared under the title "Das Zeitalter der Reformation," in *Propyläen-Weltgeschichte,* V (1930), immediately after the death of the famous Renaissance scholar. Now Dr. Otto Schottenloher, a pupil of Paul Joachimsen, has made the entire manuscript available. The choice in the title of "als Epoche" seems more fitting than "Das Zeitalter," as Joachimsen always stressed that, while the Reformation may have its own *Zeitgeist,* yet its basic verities are timeless and belong to German history as a whole. In no sense is he willing, however, to grant that a direct line runs from Martin Luther through Lessing, Schiller, Goethe, Kant, Fichte, and Stein to Hegel and Bismarck. The approach of both volumes is chronological, but the scope of Bishop Lilje's book is much broader. The latter volume emphasizes where and why modern Germans lost the spirit of Luther, while the former is only concerned with the Reformation *per se,* even though it does assume that the roots of the modern world are in the Renaissance-Reformation period.

Luther Now is at its best on Erasmus, the church, and the impact of the Reformation on subsequent centuries. The greatest weakness of the book lies in the realm of the political, which is judged largely on the basis of the moral standards of the theologian rather than on historical sources. The author overestimates

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Charles V far beyond his just due, while Henry VIII is not given credit for his actual accomplishments. Professor Joachimsen's book maintains a high quality throughout, and many sections are positively brilliant. The Renaissance sections may not seem so new to the reader familiar with his previous publications, but the period from 1521 to the end of the Schmalkaldic War offers a new synthesis of extremely high quality. It is refreshing to find the Lutherans and Catholics treated in other than the conventional phrases. He comprehends the inner differences in terms of the *Altgläubigen* and the *Neugläubigen,* both of them Catholic and differing only in their conceptions of the essentials of the Christian Church. The Catholic Reformation in Italy is also treated with such clarity of perception that the actions of men like Granvela, Contarini, and Morone lead naturally to the Council of Trent. The *Reichsreform* under Maximilian and Charles V is also portrayed in clear relief against the inner forces of German territorialism. Here the contributions of Melanchthon, Philip of Hesse, Bucer, Kasimir of Brandenburg-Ansbach, and many lesser figures are evaluated and carefully woven into the larger composite picture. The reader is shown the period following Worms to Speyer, Regensburg, and the later Schmalkaldic War as a unity. Charles V and Pope Paul III are also delineated so carefully that the reader understands clearly all the implications leading to the Council and also understands why, after 1537, there was no longer any hope of healing the schism within the Catholic Church.

One weakness common to both books is that they are dated. Much research has taken place since 1929 on Luther's discovery of justification by faith. Both authors place the tower discovery too early. Luther's role in the University of Wittenberg has also been oversimplified. Once the Reformation is understood as an educational movement, it can no longer be said that Luther's reforms began to lose their force after 1530. The church visitations in Lutheran lands, the organization of new *Landeskirchen* and schools, basic changes in the liturgy, the use of the Bible in translation, and the organization of the first Lutheran university, all fall after that date. Recent research has proved that the new movement did not reach full momentum before 1535 and did not regress until after Melanchthon's death in 1560, when the age of dogmatism produced a new scholasticism in Lutheran circles that made the Catholic Counter Reformation possible and successful. The date 1534 in Joachimsen must be a misprint for 1543 for the second edition of Melanchthon's *Loci.* His claim that Luther agreed with Hutten for a short period prior to Worms (p. 108) will continue to be questioned in the light of too much evidence to the contrary. In Bishop Lilje's book the battle of Pavia is misdated, 1522 should be 1525. He also does not seem to know that the present tower on the Luther house was not the one in which Luther discovered justification by faith.

The books have their respective merits. Bishop Lilje's volume will appeal to students interested in the theological implications of the Reformation for modern Germany. Joachimsen's final synthesis of the Reformation as a whole should in-

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terest the American scholar. The work merits an early translation to make its rich treasures available to a wider public.

Baltimore, Maryland ERNEST G. SCHWIEBERT

LA RÉVOLUTION FRANÇAISE. By *Georges Lefebvre,* Professeur honoraire à la Sorbonne. [Peuples et Civilisations, Histoire générale, XIII.] (Rev. ed., Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1951. Pp. 673. 1,800 fr.)

PROFESSOR Lefebvre has here given us not merely a revision of the book he published in collaboration with R. Guyot and P. Sagnac in 1930 as Volume XIII of the series "Peuples et Civilisations," but what is essentially a whole new work, in which he takes over all the ground covered by his collaborators in the earlier version. It is rather surprising to find this nova in the staid and established constellation of a great scholarly collaborative series, but we can only be grateful that the structure of the French publishing business permits such a surprise; and indeed our figure of speech is faulty, for this new star is in no danger of fading. It will remain for a long time one of the most authoritative general histories of the French revolutionary era, and along with Professor Lefebvre's Volume XIV on Napoleon in the same series, an indispensable manual for work at the graduate level.

In scope this volume extends over the whole of the Western world in the decade of the French Revolution, but with the internal histories of countries other than France no more than sketched, and always focused on the Revolution. There is a first book, or section, setting firmly but briefly the background of the eighteenth century, and a wholly admirable final book summarizing the work of the Revolution in all the fields—political, military, social, intellectual—the historian today must concern himself with. The body of the work is by no means a mere essay or a survey. It gives a surprisingly detailed running narrative of French and international politics. But it must be noted that Professor Lefebvre is not concerned with the story as such and that his work would be puzzling to a reader who knew nothing whatever of the French Revolution. Professor Lefebvre writes as a man who knows just what his predecessors have done, who assumes that his reader has at least some acquaintance with the literature, and who is trying to emphasize the cumulative results of several generations of productive labor in the field. This is a most encouraging work for those who believe that the writing of history, though it is not as clearly cumulative as is work in the natural sciences, nonetheless does contain genuinely cumulative elements.

On the old question of causation of the French Revolution Professor Lefebvre has freed himself from the position, which used to be the conventional one among historians friendly to the Revolution—and even among some, like Taine, hostile to it—that the Old Regime was a tyranny at once harsh and inefficient, and the protest against it the spontaneous rising of outraged human dignity. But he has by no means gone over to the opposite camp of those historians, mainly royalist,

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who see the Old Regime as a benevolent and at least potentially constitutional or "mixed" government and the revolutionists as a willful minority of unprincipled idealists. He inclines to the view that there was widespread and unusual economic deprivation, especially in the bad winter of 1788–89, and makes full use of the work of Labrousse; but he by no means denies the importance of the "heavenly city of the eighteenth century philosophers" in setting a goal for the men of 1789, and as a temperate Marxist in the sociological rather than the partisan sense, he sees the Revolution as basically the work of a bourgeoisie not just negatively turning against oppression but positively seeking for new goals of their own. In short, he has a scheme of causation which allows full play for the working of many variables, including those variables of human personality and even accident no historian worth his salt can afford to dismiss.

The Revolution proper he separates into a first or moderate bourgeois revolution aiming essentially at something like a French equivalent of what Montesquieu thought England was like and a second more popular revolution aiming at a full political democracy, with equality before the law, the career open to talents, and a degree of economic leveling, but no real anticipation of "socialism." He follows Mathiez—and even Daniel Guérin—in discerning a third or proto-socialist proletarian revolution which, however, he thinks never came even as close as Mathiez thought it did to succeeding. On many phases of the first revolution he is excellent, and especially on the Great Fear and on the crucial financial problem. He is not altogether clear on the difficult question of why the first, or moderate, revolution failed, though in his running narrative he brings out the concrete difficulties—the weakness of Louis XVI, the intransigence of the old ruling classes, the complementary failings of Mirabeau and Lafayette, the religious difficulties, the war and many others—which the moderates could not solve. He seems chiefly (p. 237) to blame the war; and the war—though he by no means denies the influence of the French war party—he inclines to blame on the other European powers. In a footnote (p. 233) he suggests that the coalition against France was already in 1792 motivated not merely by traditional power politics but by *"le désir passionné d'écraser la Révolution."*

On the central problem of the second revolution, the nature and motivation of the Terror, Professor Lefebvre again is far from the simplicities of the school of Aulard. He leans, as a good Frenchman and *républicain* must, to the thesis that the Terror was primarily a defense mechanism against the pressures of foreign and civil war (pp. 401–409) and he makes good use—with full acknowledgments—of the pioneering statistical work of Donald Greer on the incidence of the Terror to show that repression was most severe in those places and at those times when these pressures were most threatening. He by no means denies, however, that there was in the Terror a *"volonté punitive"* (p. 401) inspired by something more than the need to defend revolutionary France. Some of that *"volonté punitive"* he finds in the desire of the Terrorists to remain in power, some in the very structure of the hastily devised *gouvernement révolutionnaire;* and, if he

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cannot go so far as to accept the Terror as an attempt to achieve by force an inhuman heaven on earth, he does admit the existence of a *"mentalité révolutionnaire"* unable to accept the ordinary limitations of human nature. His gift for reconciling extreme views comes out clearly in an excellent bibliographical footnote (p. 249) on the controversy over the role and character of Danton.

Professor Lefebvre seems on the whole less friendly toward the Directory, less "revisionist" about its achievements, than was Raymond Guyot in the original version of this work. Here again, however, he by no means lapses into the old view of this regime as a mere marking-time between the Revolution and the savior Napoleon. His Book V is a good account not only of the complicated international politics of the period but also of the solid work of consolidation achieved in the four years which preceded the *coup d'état* of 18 Brumaire.

The bibliographies, arranged piecemeal as footnotes to chapter headings and subheadings according to the pattern set for the whole series of volumes, are admirable. Professor Lefebvre does full justice to work done in all the Western languages. This work, together with Professor Godechot's recent *Institutions de la France sous la Révolution et l'Empire* (see *AHR,* January, 1952, p. 425) will bring the research student in this field fully up to date. In sum, this is a work of major importance, the crowning achievement of a gifted scholar, heart-warming evidence that in our troubled times fairness, moderation, and open-mindedness are still in the service of historical writing.

Harvard University CRANE BRINTON

LA CRISE RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE, 1789–1846. By *Jean Leflon,* Professeur à l'Institut Catholique de Paris. [Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours, Volume 20.] (Paris: Bloud & Gay. 1949. Pp. 524. 960 fr.)

WITH the appearance of Leflon's work, sixteen of the twenty-four volumes in the monumental "History of the Church," under the direction of Augustin Fliche and Victor Martin, have been published. Readers of the *American Historical Review* need no introduction to this basic work, in which a group of leading French students of Catholicism have been collaborating for the past fifteen years.

Leflon's volume is the ripe work of a member of the faculty of the Catholic Institute of Paris and a historian who has written extensively on the history of the church during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The present volume is based on a wide range of published literature and on substantial archival research. In the very nature of the subject, Leflon's book can not be expected to penetrate many individual problems *au fond,* but it does present a broad and well-articulated synthesis which no serious student of this period can neglect.

Leflon is content for the most part to write narrative history—to describe meticulously "how it actually happened"—and to avoid the pitfalls of broader interpretation. Within these limits, he deals with the great questions at issue with skill and sophistication and with a full command of the literature. He writes with

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unusual objectivity, for instance, on the controversy-studded era of the Great French Revolution. On the other hand, he avoids, or severely subordinates, various episodes painful to a Catholic historian: e.g., the cruel desertion of Gregory XVI during the days when he lay dying.

Leflon launches his work with a broad and informed picture of the church in Europe on the eve of the Revolution. It is unfortunate that he provides us no companion piece at the end, where the book seems rather to run off into the sand. He devotes far too large a proportion of his space to France (although students will freely admit the dominant importance of that country to his subject), and tends at times to deal with the history of the church in other countries as though it were almost embroidery for his story. He also fails adequately to situate intellectual movements within the church in the larger intellectual currents of the day.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the book, however, is its unconscious emphasis on the vast difficulties of the papacy when faced with the implications for doctrine and practice of the revolutionary social, economic, and political changes of this period. Despite some few evidences to the contrary, Leflon's narrative clearly reveals—and this is especially true of the pontificates of Leo XII and Gregory XVI—that the papacy misread the spirit of the times and stepped boldly forward as leader of the resistance to the burgeoning new ideas of the age, with various ones of which it has since had to make its peace. In so doing, the church prepared the way for the humiliating defeats of the decades after 1848.

Harvard University DONALD C. MCKAY

REVOLUTIONARY JUSTICE: A STUDY OF THE ORGANIZATION, PERSONNEL, AND PROCEDURE OF THE PARIS TRIBUNAL, 1793–1795. By *James Logan Godfrey*. [James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, Volume XXXIII.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1951. Pp. vi, 166. $1.25.)

AFTER years of neglect the history of the Revolutionary Tribunal of Paris was in need of renewal. Mr. Godfrey's study is an answer to this need. It is a compact, meticulous, thoroughly scientific, and completely documented monograph. After a discussion of the legislation affecting the Tribunal from its origin in March, 1793, to its abolition in May, 1795, Mr. Godfrey analyzes its operation and its role. He places considerable emphasis on its integration in the Revolutionary government; and especially valuable are the portions of the study concerning the personnel of the Tribunal, a remarkably perceptive account of its procedure, and an analysis of the statistics, set forth in tables and graphs, representing the cases handled by the court. Of necessity a good deal of this is familiar, but it is well organized and much new information is added to the existing fund.

Merely for the information it contains this book belongs on the shelf of every student of the Revolution. But its most interesting aspect is interpretive. Scholars such as Campardon and Wallon and many later writers whose works touched

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the Revolutionary Tribunal regarded it and all its work as a horrible travesty of justice, and Madame Lafarge is a living image in the popular imagination. Mr. Godfrey discards the "ethical and legalistic considerations" which produced the horror reaction. Throughout his study he insists, explicitly and implicitly, that the Revolutionary Tribunal must be realized in the frame of reference of a violent but beneficial revolution, judged as a necessary instrument of revolutionary force, or, in his own phrase, "as an institution for the achievement of the revolutionary purpose and not as a court for the administration of law and justice as ordinary social necessities." In this context, the Tribunal was comparatively moderate—was in fact "something of a model which prevented the bloodletting of the Revolution from becoming indiscriminate." A series of September massacres, Mr. Godfrey suggests, might have been the alternative.

Unless the French Revolution itself is to be condemned, one must agree that ruthless repression of opposition was an inescapable political necessity in the crisis of 1793 and 1794. The Paris Tribunal was one of the several quasi-judicial machines of this repression, and, despite the urgency and tension which conditioned its operation, it may well be that prior to the law of 22 Prairial few persons innocent of the charges against them were condemned. But Mr. Godfrey's devotion to his thesis carries him into a moderate defense of the Tribunal during the climatic Terror of June and July, 1794, when it ceased to be discriminate even in rendering "revolutionary justice." Had it then become the scythe of an inchoate social revolution? Probably not. At this phase the fever of the Revolution had reached the point of delirium, and the Tribunal had become as irrational and irresponsible as the great movement of which it was so essential a part.

Washington, D.C. DONALD GREER

HISTOIRE DU MOUVEMENT ANARCHISTE EN FRANCE (1880–1914). By *Jean Maitron*. (Paris: Société universitaire d'éditions et de librairie. 1951. Pp. 744.)

THIS book deals with anarchism in France during the period 1880–1914, when it achieved recognized existence as a "movement." M. Maitron has succeeded in surmounting great difficulties in doing his researches. As anarchists seldom formed permanent organizations official records were few and widely scattered. The important original sources were the anarchist journals, and while these were fairly numerous they were in the main small, obscure, and ephemeral. Yet the author has managed to compile an annotated list of these journals consisting of fifty-six pages, apart from a general bibliography of one hundred pages. And M. Maitron's erudition does not get in the way of his understanding. He is no mere compiler of facts but an imaginative scholar who devotes considerable space to an analysis of the ideas of anarchism and its various schools, to its bearing on other revolutionary movements, and to a portrayal of the personalities of its leading figures.

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Anarchism, in the view of the author, has been a version of the libertarian movement in France which began in 1789. By abolishing all forms of the state and by organizing free associations of producers around each human need the anarchists, or "les compagnons" as they preferred to be called, aimed to realize what they conceived to be the promise of the French Revolution. During the early part of the period treated by the author the anarchists sought to attain their aim by the "propaganda of deed," or violent attacks on chiefs of state and other prominent officials. When this method failed, some of the ardent spirits among them migrated to the trade union movement. One of the best parts of the book describes their successful infiltration into the French trade unions and the conversion of these bodies to syndicalism, "l'anarchisme ouvrier." Syndicalism had definitely an anarchist flavor in its repudiation of political action and in its espousal of the general strike as a revolutionary method, "la grève-révolution," with which to destroy both capitalism and the state.

Highly interesting are the author's observations concerning the attitude of the anarchists toward Marxism. As genuine libertarians hostile to all forms of authoritative constraint the anarchists deeply distrusted the intellectual rigidity and the organized discipline of the Marxists. Unlike the latter they steadfastly refused to form a political party, which they regarded as "l'image de l'Etat en petit." And they visualized the Marxists not as liberators but as the "oppresseurs de demain," once a socialist party came into control of the state.

The author's own attitude toward anarchism, in so far as the present reviewer can judge, is one of cool detachment. He tells its story in full and analyzes its ideas clearly and comprehensively. As anarchism is no longer a "movement" its importance is chiefly historical. M. Maitron's book is truly a masterly study of an important aspect of the revolutionary history of France.

New York, N.Y. J. Salwyn Schapiro

DE ENGELSE NATIE TE ANTWERPEN IN DE 16e EEUW (1496–1582). Volume I. By *Oskar De Smedt.* (Antwerp: De Sikkel. 1950. Pp. viii, 448. 280 fr. belges.)

"The English Nation" was the name by which the Company of Merchants Adventurers was known at Antwerp. The earliest records refer to them as "the Brotherhood of St. Thomas of Canterbury." It would be wrong though to infer that the fraternity had its inception in a religious association. It had from the start a strictly commercial character.

The Merchants Adventurers were the richest and most powerful English traders in the Netherlands, and thanks to their wealth and authority they claimed and acquired the right to act as spokesmen for all English merchants in the Low Countries, exclusive, however, of the Staple Merchants, the exporters of English wool, of which the staple on the Continent was at Calais. The Merchants Adventurers imported English cloths, tin, lead, and various other English products.

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In the thirteenth century it was Flanders that exported cloths to England. The social insecurity resulting, in the period of the Hundred Years' War, from the rivalry between the Flemish cities and from the repeated clashes between the patriciate and the urban proletariat, had driven thousands of weavers to seek employment in England. King Edward III welcomed and encouraged this migration, with the result that in the fifteenth century English cloth was able to compete on the Continent with the product from the looms of Flanders.

England's fiscal policy promoted this reversal. Toward the end of the century English merchants and the members of the German Hansa were charged an export duty on cloth of no more than 2 per cent *ad valorem,* whereas the Staple Merchants paid a wool toll of 33 per cent and wool exporters who were not members of the Staple Company were forced to pay from 44 to 70 per cent *ad valorem.* As a result of this discriminative taxation English cloths could be offered for sale in the Antwerp market at less than the sale price of the wool they contained.

It is no wonder that in the Flemish cities, the ancient centers of the cloth industry, the Merchants Adventurers were far from popular. In Antwerp, on the other hand, they were received with open arms. The city attracted them by granting liberal privileges. Aliens there had the same rights that were enjoyed by Antwerp citizens. Freedom from medieval restraints drew dealers from all over the Continent, and the concourse of these foreign traders stimulated the city's international commerce. In the early sixteenth century Antwerp had risen to the rank of a world metropolis, the equal of Venice in northern Europe.

The Merchants Adventurers were favored residents. The magistrates were ever anxious to meet their often exorbitant demands, for Antwerp's welfare was dependent on the undisturbed flow of the English cloth trade. The cloths were imported as they came off the loom; they had to be processed in Antwerp, and this required skills that were a specialty of the city's trained labor. Every time a stoppage of imports occurred, thousands of urban workers were made idle, and the authorities dreaded the unrest and the riots caused by an impoverished and disgruntled proletariat. The Merchants Adventurers knew how to turn the city's dependence on them to good account. Their chief spokesman, who bore the title of governor, was ever ready to extort fresh favors and privileges by threatening; if they were refused, to transfer the seat of the "Nation" to Bergen-op-Zoom, or Middelburg, or Emden, or Hamburg.

The outbreak of the Dutch revolt in 1568 marked the beginning of Antwerp's decline. A mutiny of the Spanish garrison, which left the ransacked city in hopeless disorder, made the position of the English Nation almost untenable. They moved to Bruges in Flanders, but soon went back to Antwerp. The city on the Scheldt offered them advantages that Bruges could not match. But Antwerp's commerce by this time had dwindled to a shadow of its former greatness. The "Nation's" administrative apparatus served only a sadly diminished trade, their best customers, the Italians and Germans, having greatly reduced their business with Antwerp. In October, 1581, the "Nation" signed an agreement with Middel-

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burg for a provisional removal to that city. They still had hopes, apparently, of an eventual return, and the Antwerp magistrates shared their optimism. They never revoked the municipal privileges of the Merchants Adventurers, not even after 1587, when the removal of the English Nation from Middelburg to Stade crushed all expectation of their return.

An extensive bibliography of archival records, printed sources, and historical literature bears impressive testimony to the vast amount of research that has gone to the making of this excellent first volume. Dr. De Smedt deserves the thanks of all students of English-Netherlands relations.

Columbia University ADRIAAN J. BARNOUW

DIE GROSSE REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND: ANATOMIE EINES UMSTURZES. By *Michael Freund*. (Hamburg: Claassen Verlag. 1951. Pp. 592. DM 19.80.)

MICHAEL Freund has written this study of the Puritan Revolution to draw attention to the importance and the heroic character of the English upheaval. Its significant dates lie for his purposes between the Scottish revolt against the Laudian liturgy to the flight on January 10, 1642, of Charles the First. In contrast with the French Revolution of 1789 the English has received less than its due from German writers of the present century. Throughout Mr. Freund emphasizes the dramatic events of the struggle between king and Parliament and the extraordinary men who took part in it. He is anti-Puritan, and indeed, is less than just to Puritanism in his introductory chapters on early Stuart and Caroline England. He is royalist in sympathy. He suspects a much more definite conspiracy on the part of the Cromwellian cousinage in the first months of the Long Parliament than has commonly been acknowledged or recognized by English historians. Cromwell's part has been, he thinks, much underestimated. Freund has, of course, already written on Cromwell, on toleration, as well as on the interpretation of More's *Utopia*. He believes that Cromwell was in all probability already weaving "a web of such a scope" (as Marvell wrote of a later period) which would ensnare his opponents and lead him into the military dictatorship of the fifties. Freund sees in the policies of the parliamentary leaders of 1640–41 a break in the long continuity of English history, a departure from tradition which presaged ill for later developments. To him Pym is a "Führer" assisted by Vane, godly instrument of revolution, and an inner committee of management composed of Cromwell, St. John, and their associates. He is concerned with the part Bedford played in the inner processes of the Revolution. Freund is convinced that revolution leads inevitably to military dictatorship and some historians will agree with him. With his further conclusion that this progression in England (as in later Germany) was both anticipated and planned by a small group of ambitious men, more disagreement may be roused.

Mr. Freund has made himself familiar with memoirs, letters, biographies,

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and histories of the period. He has used much pamphlet material. He has studied Neale's volume on the Elizabethan parliaments and laments the lack of similar work on the Long Parliament. He uses, of course, the work of Leopold von Ranke and many more recent studies by Walther Rothschild, Wilhelm Kottler, and others. He has not, however, searched English archives; he refers only to one or two compilations like Gardiner's *Documents;* he draws very little from the many printed reports of debates in Parliament. Most disappointingly for English and American readers, he has apparently made no attempt to use contemporary Continental material on English affairs. Freund is, however, concerned with reinterpretation rather than with a detailed investigation of sources. His approach is that of the popularizer and the journalist. He has no footnotes though he has appended some account of his material, not only for the book as a whole but for each chapter. He also appends critical portraits of many of the chief actors and, as well, gives by way of index a register and identification of names that occur in the text. The book will undoubtedly interest many general readers but its critical conclusions should be subjected to very careful examination before acceptance by historians of the period.

Bryn Mawr College CAROLINE ROBBINS

THE MAKING OF THE RESTORATION SETTLEMENT: THE INFLUENCE OF THE LAUDIANS, 1649–1662. By *Robert S. Bosher,* General Theological Seminary, New York. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. xvi, 309. $5.00.)

A HAPPY choice of subject, extensive research, a clear though not distinguished style, and sobriety of judgment, combine to make this a first-class monograph, which fills an important gap in a theological library. It is remarkable that Dr. Bosher has been able to add so much to our knowledge about some of the most-studied events of the Restoration. This is due both to his discovery and use of new sources—state papers, foreign as well as domestic, private letters, newspapers, tracts, even ballads—and his gleaning from works long in print. One of the few sources he apparently neglected comprises the papers of the House of Lords, calendared for this period in the Seventh Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. A well-known Scottish Presbyterian, Robert Baillie, who had lived through, and often taken a notable part in, ecclesiastical events during the Puritan Revolution, is here quoted as describing in 1661 the overthrow of what he calls "the Reformation of England" as a "mystery." Why militant high Anglicism triumphed after the Restoration has remained something of a mystery, but is now largely explained by Dr. Bosher. One of his most valuable contributions is his demonstration that the leadership of Anglicans passed into the hands of the followers of the late Archbishop Laud—he lists over a hundred who went into exile. The bishops and other dignitaries who remained in England were lethargic, and two thirds of the clergy acquiesced in

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Cromwell's state church. The Laudians were very active and produced a most impressive series of works as well as popular controversial tracts to strengthen the Anglican position. They and the ejected clergy who remained in England effected a remarkable change in the gentry. Whereas the squirearchy was hostile to Laudism in 1640, by 1660 it had become predominantly high church and remained so—as students of the eighteenth century will testify. How far the transition was due more to love of ritualism than to hatred of Puritanism, or vice versa, is a question to which Dr. Bosher supplies no definite answer. He does show, however, that though the Cavaliers and Presbyterians became uneasy allies in restoring the king, the former regarded the latter as an accursed faction which had ruined the church. As regards the church settlement after the Restoration, the Laudians had the great advantage that they knew what they wanted—even the Court of High Commission (see pp. 223, 256), though in this they failed. The Presbyterians suffered under the handicap that they wished to restore the monarchy, and some of them were willing to accept a modified episcopacy but not the necessity for episcopal ordination which was, as is here shown, the real issue. Some new light is thrown upon the proceedings in the Convention with regard to the act for settling ministers and to the ecclesiastical declaration and the failure to embody it in a law. Even the Savoy Conference receives fresh illumination as well as an eleventh-hour effort to mitigate the Act of Uniformity and its defeat by Sheldon.

Errors seem few. The date 1641, for the canons, is a slip for 1640. Clement Barksdales' *Disputation* is dated 1653 and 1654 (pp. 28, 39). It is an exaggeration to say that the Long Parliament had restored the House of Lords (p. 115). The legal position at least was that the Upper House, like the monarchy, had never been abolished. Perhaps it might have been well to insert early in the book a definition of Laudism in order to show how far the second generation of high churchmen agreed with the archbishop's theology, and his views on discipline and the relations of church and state. However, a few possible imperfections hardly dilute admiration for a fine piece of scholarship.

Huntington Library GODFREY DAVIES

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF PALMERSTON, 1830–1841: BRITAIN, THE LIBERAL MOVEMENT, AND THE EASTERN QUESTION. In two volumes. By Sir *Charles Webster*. (London: G. Bell and Sons; New York: British Book Centre. 1951. Pp. xi, 521; vi, 525–914. $12.50.)

A CONSIDERATION of Sir Charles Webster's notable book may well begin with its concluding sentence: "If the substantive is to have any meaning in social democracy, if Belgium and the Straits are to remain as independent areas, if the colossal mass of Russia can be contained and fitted into a world system, if effective international cooperation is to be obtained by the use of the Council table, this result will be due in part to Palmerston's work in these years" (p. 795).

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This sentence suggests but does not adequately convey the complexities of the story its author undertakes to tell, though he frankly omits "the Americas and the Far East" in order to keep the book to a reasonable length. He suggests that these areas did "not affect British attitudes towards European Powers, except to a very limited extent" (p. vi).

The research extended over a period of twenty years, but the actual writing of the book has been done since 1945. The author says that he had "by 1939 completed the analysis of the material collected for it and already come to my conclusions about it" (p. v). He had access to papers not used adequately before, notably to Continental archives and to the private papers of Palmerston at Broadlands. The appendix (pp. 799–901) contains selections from documents and letters in that and other collections.

The story told is that which might have been seen by a critical observer in Palmerston's office, equipped with much information denied at the time to that minister. The policies he adopted had to be fused in his own mind and applied by his actions, influenced by others and by the totality of the circumstances of the moment. As the principle of unity, Palmerston himself should be the central theme of the narrative. Perhaps it is a serious defect that the minister never quite comes alive as a personality dealing with the problems he faced.

The first chapter is occupied by the thorny question of how a young politician, diffidently content as Secretary for War until middle age, became leader of the Canning faction after that leader's death and Foreign Secretary in Grey's cabinet in the late autumn of 1830. As Foreign Secretary he had the delicate task of dealing directly with William IV and with his niece when she succeeded to the crown. He found himself obliged to acquiesce in a reform of the House of Commons, which had been opposed by most of the leaders with whom he had previously served. In these stormy years of domestic political change he faced the necessity of conciliating the support of his colleagues and of guiding his country's concerns with the settlement of questions pertaining to Greece, Belgium, Portugal, and Spain, and with the Eastern Powers.

The thesis of the book is that he strove on the whole to support what the author calls the "Liberal Movement," of which the essence is described as "representative government. It was based on a system of majority rule and individual rights, which in a manner not realised by its first exponents, could ultimately be used for ends as far reaching as those of the most violent revolutionaries" (p. 76). In pursuing this "Liberal Movement" in the West, Palmerston and his colleagues alienated the powers in eastern Europe whose help was essential if Russia was to be contained. The result was a frantic effort to regain the ground thus lost, which had its dramatic fruition in the settlement with Mehemet Ali and the Straits Convention in July, 1841.

The well-documented story of these intricate negotiations is told in a series of separate monographs. Unlike Palmerston, the reader is able to concentrate on the question of Belgium or Portugal or Poland and to forget that the minister

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responsible for decisions on these matters had contemporaneously to think of the others the while he had to win his colleagues to his point of view. He had sometimes to operate abroad through agents who did not sympathize with his aims. He had also to participate in discussions concerning domestic changes which marked a radical departure from previous constitutional practice. Successful action was sometimes hindered by intrigues of such resident foreign agents as Talleyrand and the Princess Lieven, who did not hesitate to try to thwart him.

Sir Charles is aware of the intricate web of events of which Palmerston was the influential central figure. He is at pains occasionally to remind the reader that the negotiation concerning Belgium or Greece parallels one concerning Spain or Portugal and that ministerial colleagues are obstructing the way. But the narrative adheres to diplomatic interchanges pertinent to the particular country treated in the chapters severally; a reader has largely to note for himself the complexities of circumstances at any given time. It is easier, however, to point out this defect than it is to suggest a remedial literary device. A narrative organized chiefly on the basis of chronology would be too complex to be put together easily and might not leave the reader less confused than does the series of parallel monographs.

Perhaps the story of the foreign relations of a major, influential power in the modern world is too complex to be reduced to a simple narrative. In any case, a reader interested in the methods used by an able and industrious statesman to mobilize the weight of his country in favor of peace and stability has here in intelligible form a wealth of material not hitherto available for study.

Duke University W. T. Laprade

KONG CHRISTIAN VIII, NORGES STATHOLDER, 1813–1814. By *Axel Linvald*. (Copenhagen: Gyldendal. 1952. Pp. 248.)

Prince Christian Frederick, cousin of Frederick VI, became heir apparent to the crown of Denmark-Norway on his father's death in 1805. He was called to the responsible post of stadtholder in Norway in his twenty-seventh year. Sweden had lost Finland to Russia in 1809, and in the following year Marshal Bernadotte was made crown prince of Sweden. After a long apprenticeship as prince regent for his insane father, Christian VII, Frederick VI became king in 1808. His involvement in a war with England and his anti-Swedish policy were to cost the kingdom dear. His stubborn adherence to Napoleonic France until the crucial battle of Leipzig (1813), when a Swedish army under Bernadotte was ranged against the emperor, made it a practical impossibility to maintain the union with Norway. Linvald's book deals with the months from May, 1813, to January 14, 1814, when the treaty of Kiel ended Denmark's century-long Norwegian connection. More archival material is available for this king (he came to the throne in 1839) than for any in all of Denmark's history, but until

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now much of it has been inaccessible to scholars. In an earlier volume, *Christian VIII, den unge Prins, 1786–1813* (Copenhagen, 1943), Linvald told the story of the young prince. Simultaneously he published a comprehensive collection of Christian VIII's diaries and notes, *Kong Christian VIII's Dagböger og Optegnelser,* I, 1799–1814 (Copenhagen, 1943).

Prince Christian Frederick's stadtholdership in Norway was his first independent administrative post. He gathered around him many able Norwegians from fields like administration, shipping, manufacturing, and large-scale farming. He was loyal to the king but exceedingly frank in informing him what leading Norwegians thought of various measures devised in Copenhagen for the supposed benefit of Norway. The provincial governors, who represented the crown throughout Norway, were closely allied in interest with the growing merchant and burgher class, and had become accustomed to act more independently than the Danish governors, who were nearer the seat of authority. The stadtholder entered into their problems and those of Norway's people at a most critical time, speedily and sympathetically. These included establishing in Christiania a branch of the Copenhagen state bank (*Rigsbank*), taking extraordinary steps to facilitate the transport to Norway of desperately needed cargoes of grain through an annoying English blockade, strengthening Norwegian defenses to meet a much-feared Swedish invasion, and giving Norway increased autonomy in case of real crisis.

However, the fate of Denmark-Norway was not to be determined in the north but in the councils of the Great Powers, who had dedicated themselves to the annihilation of the Napoleonic empire. Frederick VI pinned his faith on Napoleon to the last, and this despite Christian Frederick's constant discreet urgings toward a rapprochement with the Tory government of England. From the time he assumed office, the stadtholder was never in doubt that Napoleon's cause was doomed, and after the emperor's defeat at Leipzig he became more and more convinced that Norway might have to meet alone the threat of complete absorption by its Swedish neighbor.

The importance of Linvald's absorbing and well-told story lies in this, that Christian Frederick's stadtholdership in Norway prepared the Norwegians to raise the banner of revolt against the extreme demands of the Swedish crown prince, to elect the prince as their king, and presently to force Charles John to agree to a settlement that placed Norway on near equality with Sweden and its people in a position of political freedom and national independence. The author traces the course of events in Denmark and Norway with a sure and expert hand. He keeps the reader constantly aware of the larger European political and military scene, and his account is related where necessary to events affecting the destiny of the north. His extensive and critical use of an immense store of unpublished archival material provides new and valuable insights in a short but vitally important era in Dano-Norwegian history hitherto imperfectly known to scholars. The footnotes are models of completeness, and the many contem-

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porary illustrations of persons and scenes are valuable supplements to the narrative. A third volume, dealing with 1814, Christian Frederick's brief reign as king of Norway, and the aftermath of the treaty of Kiel, will presumably follow in due course. It may be assured of a warm welcome by all students of the period.

University of California, Los Angeles WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD

GESANDTSCHAFTSBERICHTE AUS MÜNCHEN 1814–1848. Dritte Abteilung: DIE BERICHTE DER PREUSSISCHEN GESANDTEN. Bearbeitet von *Anton Chroust*. In five volumes. [Schriftenreihe zur bayerischen Landesgeschichte, hrsg. von der Kommission für bayerische Landesgeschichte bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Bände 39–43.] (Munich: Biederstein Verlag. 1949–51. Pp. vii, 374; 488; 328; xv, 438; 85 [index].)

IN 1931 at the age of sixty-seven Anton Chroust undertook to edit the reports of the French, Austrian, and Prussian embassies for the period given above. By 1945, when he died in an air raid, six volumes of the French reports and four of the Austrian had been published (1935–37 and 1939–43 respectively), and the five Prussian volumes were sufficiently advanced that Dr. Max Spindler was able to finish the project. The result is a rich source collection of monumental proportions, pertaining primarily to Bavarian history but also important for German and European affairs. In general, the French reports stress foreign affairs, the Austrian volumes the activities of the German Confederation. When these two series appeared perhaps the greatest surprise was the very un-Treitschkean seriousness with which the *Deutscher Bund* was regarded; the French envoy in particular had a wholesome respect for that institution as a German *Gesamtmacht* (see review in *Historische Zeitschrift,* CLVII [1937–38], 146–50) —this despite the fact that Bavaria was one of the main foes of the federal authority.

The Prussian volumes, the topic for discussion here, likewise shed light on German-wide affairs. The reports show that not Radowitz alone but the Austrians too made substantial contributions to the federal military inspection of 1841 growing out of the French war scare. They refute Treitschke's contention that it was always the South German liberals who held up military appropriations in the diets; in Bavaria the Landtag's efforts to vote funds for the army were continually blocked by an economy-minded king. One may also note that in 1846 Count Bernstorff, alarmed at the inability of Württemberg and Bavaria to co-operate on railroad construction for military purposes, proposed that his government seek action through the federal diet. Moltke was by no means the first to see the military value of railroads, as is sometimes claimed. The documents are rich in commercial data and information on the Bavarian army, the former vital to Prussia's Zollverein policy, the latter essential to German defense in the west, in which Bavaria was expected to play a major role.

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By far the greatest space in the Prussian reports is allotted to the internal affairs of Bavaria. There is much new material on religious problems, in which the Prussians were intensely interested, to the point of meddling. The reports will be indispensable from now on to give the inside story on important legislation and supplement the meager official versions of Landtag proceedings. The same is true of political machinations such as the rise and fall of the Abel ministry and the political aspects of the Lola Montez affair, which is exceptionally well treated whether or not one accepts Bernstorff's judgment that it is *Narrheit* to call the relationship platonic. Needless to say, the material must be used with caution and in conjunction with other sources. Although the Prussian envoys were among the best in the Prussian service, including Bernstorff, later foreign minister, and Dönhoff, who left Munich to become Prussia's federal envoy, they gave one-sided accounts and were not always well informed. Bernstorff, for example, was never able to learn if Friedrich List's anti-Prussian agitation in Munich in the 1840's was paid for by Austria.

We are also—if unavoidably—at the mercy of the editor. Although Dr. Chroust exhibits no special *Tendenz,* the documents are highly selected, in the period 1814–1819 coming as much as several months apart. Most reports are considerably condensed, sometimes with the result that editorial summaries are indistinguishable from the text of the reports themselves. Nor is it always clear whether the originals were in French or German. Another difficulty is the index. This remark may seem like gross ingratitude since Volume V is wholly devoted to an elaborate eighty-five-page topical inventory, but for comprehensive collections of this kind a more convenient guide is a detailed table of contents stating the main theme of each document. With these reservations, however, the editorial work is superb; the reader is never without exact dates, complete identifications, and notes clarifying puzzling remarks. The reports are chronologically arranged: Volume I, March, 1814–October, 1825; Volume II, to November, 1837; Volume III, to August, 1843; Volume IV, to March, 1848. All in all, this great compilation should stimulate new interest in a period seldom handled with detachment.

University of Kentucky ENNO E. KRAEHE

REVOLUTIONS OF 1848: A SOCIAL HISTORY. By *Priscilla Robertson.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1952. Pp. xi, 464. $6.00.)

THE first thing to notice about Mrs. Cary Robertson's book is that she has not been primarily concerned with battles and constitutions or with the kings that Lord Palmerston confused. She has sought "to show what it was like to be a worker in Paris, or a student in Vienna, or an Italian patriot."

This is a far more difficult task than the assembling of serried ranks of facts about past politics. The sensitive historian knows how cluttered and complex is the web of events in the Europe of 1848. Vociferous and aggressive voices

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proclaim protean forms of utopian thought, mistaking national workshops for the rainbow palaces of the city of desire. Misty calculations and addled social theories flourish in the brawling conventions and the ill-conditioned camps. Radical patriots become confused with advanced liberals. Races and classes find that their loyalties cannot happily merge with what Benjamin Disraeli called "this modern, new fangled, sentimental principle of nationality."

Mrs. Robertson examines with admirable caution the kaleidoscopic shiftings of 1848 and the different answers men gave a hundred years ago to the problems of socialism and nationality, political power and economic democracy. She is shrewd enough to know that in social diagnoses the simple explanation is usually quite wrong. She does not try to "explain" too much with succinct formulas or clichés beating in the void. She knows that men with a moving sense of wrong often agree to carry out a disorganized demolition of what they do not like. Then they battle about what to put in its place. "Men fight and lose the battle," said William Morris, "and the thing they fought for comes about in spite of their defeat, and when it comes turns out not to be what they meant."

The greater part of this volume describes the anatomy of revolutions in France, Germany, the Austrian Empire, and Italy. Bulwarking her chapters by frequent references to contemporary sources, Mrs. Robertson shows "what revolution meant to the average citizen and how fateful a part he had to play in it." Particularly successful in the chapters about France are her accounts of the "massacres" at the French ministry of foreign affairs, the "funeral wagons" on the eve of February 24, Heinrich Heine humming German folksongs amidst the barricades, Lamartine trying to consolidate governments by fine phrases, and the final "revolution of despair" as Cavaignac ends the lamentable record.

In the sections about Germany Mrs. Robertson includes some excellent passages about the workers' clubs, the detailed reform proposals of the "dear Berliners," the raids on the Berlin arsenal, the mingling of reform movements with unification ideas, the royal contempt for parliaments. "Only soldiers can help against democrats," said Frederick William. The Frankfort Assembly learned what he meant. Richard Wagner escaped to Switzerland, Lola Montez and Carl Schurz to England, Michael Bakunin to Siberia.

About the futile and ruthless days in Austria Mrs. Robertson has written a hundred pages. There she vividly describes the revolt and defeat of the students in Vienna. Less successfully told is the involved chapter about the clash of race and nationality in the Habsburg Empire. Other historians have dealt with the same material more adequately.

Mrs. Robertson's pen no longer wavers when she turns to discuss the social aspects of the revolution of 1848 in Italy. She is to be congratulated upon her brilliant description and analysis of the devices used by the Milanese to cause confusion to Radetsky, the work of Mazzini, d'Azeglio, and Garibaldi, the Austrian assault upon Venice.

At the end of the volume seven pages are devoted to a summary of condi-

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tions and events in England and Ireland under the heading "The Workings of British Justice." Mrs. Robertson states that she "intended to illuminate the continental revolutions by contrast and contradiction." This end has decidedly not been achieved. The important fact is that the European revolts of 1848 gave only a temporary fillip to Chartism. In the British view neither rational progress nor ordered democracy was to be achieved by the lightning from above or the earthquake from below. Europe, of course, thought otherwise.

Wayne University GOLDWIN SMITH

MEIN LEBENSWEG. Band I, VOM SCHLOSSER ZUM MINISTER. Band II, IM AUF UND AB DER REPUBLIK. By *Carl Severing*. (Cologne: Greven Verlag. 1950. Pp. xii, 466; vii, 526. DM 24.)

CARL Severing's life story synthesizes much of the history of modern German socialism. The future Reichsminister was born with the Social Democratic party (SPD) in 1875, was converted while a boy to a pragmatic, militant, non-Marxist socialism, and became in turn manager of the Bielefeld metal workers union, municipal councillor, and, at thirty-two, Reichstag deputy. As editor, writer, and member of the *Parteiausschuss,* Severing was a staunch patriot in the war of 1914, to him a war to make the world safe for German trade. Half of the first volume of his memoirs contains penetrating insights into the conditions which enabled the SPD to win the allegiance of the workers during the quarter century that ended in 1914.

The subsequent story of the post-1918 struggles in Prussia is of even greater interest. It is clear that Prussia, citadel of reaction before the imperial collapse, became the outpost of republicanism by virtue of the revolution of 1918–1919; throughout the Weimar period, Severing was instrumental in the attempt to defend this beleaguered fortress. As in his *1919–1920 im Wetter- und Watterwinkel* (1927), he shows how the Reichswehr took advantage of Communist excesses to regain prestige partly lost in the Kapp Putsch. While Prussian minister of the interior, 1920–1926, the author was sometimes consciously and often unknowingly partner to the resurrection of the militarist right. His personal dilemma was that of his party. After the onset of Thermidor in 1920 the SPD was confronted by three disagreeable alternatives: (1) to adopt a policy of opposition would mean complete surrender of the government to the rightists; (2) within coalition cabinets the party could moderate but not break up the antirepublican, paramilitary organizations; (3) the SPD never considered its remaining choice, imposition of a ruthless dictatorship in order to eliminate enemies of the republic. The party congress of 1927 decided with Severing in favor of continued participation in coalition governments; the reward was destruction by a party which adopted unscrupulous variations of alternatives (1) and (3) to deny the SPD the right to further participation.

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As Reichsminister of the interior, 1928–30, Severing was frequently helpless to prevent the resurgence of the rightists. He was again Prussian minister of the interior, 1930–1932, and it is this period which he most fully chronicles; his chapter on the events of 1932—*"Schicksalsjahr"*—is especially well done. Here he tells frankly if defensively how he promoted the use of state funds to support Hindenburg's candidacy for re-election and how he was arbitrarily removed from office by von Papen in July along with the socialist premier, Otto Braun, whose earlier account of these events Severing greatly expands. Demoralized by the Nazi upsurge in 1932, faced with the demonstrated unreliability of the *Reichsbanner* and the unions, haunted by the irresolution of party rank and file in the summer crisis, unable to win either bourgeois or KPD support, no longer in command of the Prussian police, and with the Reichswehr now opponent rather than ally, the SPD commanders were left with little but their colors, and these they struck in 1933 without a fight, the last republican bastion to fall. Severing retired, powerless, to Bielefeld in 1933; his treatment of the following twelve years emphasizes the insignificance of resistance to the Hitler regime. Severing's final chapter is recommended to anyone who finds the current behavior of Schumacher's SPD enigmatical.

These memoirs provide rich primary color and detail, and generous pen portraits of political and union leaders of six decades. The autobiography shares weaknesses common to the genre: Severing remembers happy personal experiences more fully than party failures, except when he laboriously and often convincingly seeks to rationalize the latter, and he tells little about the political struggles within either the SPD or the governments in which he served. Nonetheless, Severing has produced the most imposing German socialist memoir since Bebel's.

Palo Alto, California JOHN L. SNELL

THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION, 1917–1923. By *Edward Hallett Carr*. Volume II. [A History of Soviet Russia.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1952. Pp. vii, 400. $6.00.)

THE nature of the history which Professor Carr has undertaken is now becoming clear. It is a series of intensive monographic studies, rather than an overall interpretation. The present volume, comprising Part IV of the 1917–1923 portion of the projected study, is devoted to one topic, "The Economic Order." The wealth of detail presented—based on a great amount of searching through relatively little-used source material—makes this volume, even more than the first of the series, an important contribution to the study of Soviet Russia.

In presentation the work is quite straightforward: four chronologically divided chapters—impact of the Revolution, "war communism," from war communism to NEP, and the beginning of the NEP—preceded by a discussion of theory and followed by one on planning. The main sections are organized in turn in a

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common topical pattern—agriculture, industry, labor and trade unions, trade and distribution, and finance. The scheme is actually too simple; Carr appears to have approached his work with no conceptual tools other than a set of pigeonholes. Then, to fill the need for an interpretive outline, for a notion of how society seems to work (which every historian requires, whether he realizes it or not), he takes over, without a second thought and without specifying their use, the concepts which he encounters in the material at hand—Bolshevik concepts. This seems to account for what sometimes appears to be a pro-Bolshevik bias on Carr's part. Careful reading indicates that there is no deliberate bias, no specifically Stalinist view (nor Trotskyist or any other latter-day interpretation, for that matter) in the work, only the contemporary Bolshevik ideas and slogans which have been borrowed to serve as conceptual building blocks (e.g., the treatment of the "anti-feudal" and "anti-capitalist" revolutions, p. 274, and the use of the slogan "socialist construction," p. 333). On occasion doctrinaire Bolshevik formulations are employed even when they run counter to the data which the author has himself adduced, as in discussing the supposed "smashing" of the bourgeois administrative machine (p. 90). The fundamental question, raised by Carr in the first volume of his history, of conditions molding Soviet society into a form different from the originally anticipated socialism, has barely been touched upon here. In spite of the detailed elucidation of policy improvisation in response to situational difficulties, the Bolsheviks' self-characterization of their regime as the embodiment of the Marxist program has been accepted as axiomatic.

The difficulties into which Carr has fallen illustrate the importance to the historian of having a conceptual scheme—or rather, of knowing what his conceptual scheme is—and of stating it explicitly. From the detailed factual study, however, certain points of emphasis emerge which are all the more important for not having been specifically stressed. These include, notably, the continuity in the economic problems faced by the tsarist, Provisional, and Soviet governments, particularly food supply; the extent of real debate, opposition, and democratic decision-making in the Soviet executive bodies, particularly the Central Executive Committee; the hand-to-mouth formation of policy by the Soviet government during the period of war communism, without much of a plan; the logic of the NEP as a series of measures instituted not systematically but as the successively emerging implications of the initial concession to the peasantry. These points come as a salutary reminder at a time when all too much rational planning of the course of events, past or future, is both claimed for itself by the Soviet regime and attributed to it by many of its critics.

Aside from this form of contribution, Carr advances less in the way of new ideas than one might hope. He does, however, briefly outline an interpretation of war communism in terms of two basic elements, in antagonism toward each other. One was natural, historically continuous with the previous order—the trend toward centralization. Highly unnatural was the other feature—the effort to substitute a "natural" for a money and market economy. It was this aspect of

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war communism which, in consequence, was most thoroughly rejected by the NEP; in contrast to centralization, one might add, it was never revived.

Bennington College ROBERT V. DANIELS

THE SIBERIAN FIASCO. By *Clarence A. Manning*. (New York: Library Publishers. 1952. Pp. 210. $3.75.)

Two years ago Princeton published John Albert White's excellent book, *The Siberian Intervention*. Unfortunately Professor Manning's little volume is not its equal. *The Siberian Fiasco* gives every evidence of having been hastily written and hurriedly published, it presents no new material, and its major points are blurred by an awkward and cumbersome style.

According to Professor Manning the Western powers learned only one lesson from the tortured months of the Siberian intervention: the folly of an international intervention without an international command. Other lessons, equally significant, were inherent in the situation, but they went unmarked by America and the West. The author details the struggle of the multinational peoples of the Russian Empire (especially in Siberia) for autonomy or independence, and suggests that the great error in Allied policy was failure to establish some standard for evaluating the various Siberian movements so that the urge to national self-determination could, with Western support, have successfully crystallized. In the absence of Allied unity of purpose, in the absence of any criterion for assessing the embryonic Siberian governments, most of them dissolved in the inferno of civil war, while the remainder succumbed to the slower death attendant on Bolshevik "co-operation" with local authorities, Bolshevik infiltration of government posts, Bolshevik annihilation of all noncommunist personnel, and, finally, Bolshevik incorporation of the autonomous governments in the Soviet state.

It is Professor Manning's thesis that had the Western powers profited by the Siberian experience we would not have been policy-less spectators at the re-enactment of the Bolshevik tactics in the Soviet infiltration and seizure of the European satellites a few decades later. It may be argued that such an analogy is artificial inasmuch as the Soviet leaders were waging an internal civil war amongst their own people in 1918–1920. However, Dr. Manning would presumably reply that it was (and is) a naive oversimplification to speak of or insist upon the Russian Empire as a unit; that this unity is forced and unnatural; that had the intervening governments been aware of the non-Russian character of the Siberian peoples and their anti-Russian sentiments, the recapture of Siberia by the new Russian regime would have been viewed with far greater concern at the time, and the West could have been expected to interpret later Soviet foreign policy more perceptively.

This particular criticism of the lack of Western foresight possesses force only if one accepts the author's contention that the chief objective of American inter-

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vention was to assist the Russian people in achieving democratic liberties. But although this was one of the formally stated purposes, the diplomatic prelude to intervention provides striking proof that the American decision was primarily rooted in the determination to check Japanese imperialism, as part of a continuing American policy to preserve some kind of balance of power in eastern Asia. In overlooking the significance of this key factor, Dr. Manning judges the results of intervention in terms of what was at best only a minor American objective, and this inevitably throws his thesis out of focus.

The entire history of the Siberian intervention was veiled in confusion. *The Siberian Fiasco* conveys this confusion without dispelling it. Unfortunately, the book will be a distinct disappointment to those familiar with Dr. Manning's scholarly reputation.

Colby College PAULINE TOMPKINS

Far Eastern History

THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY IN JAPAN, 1549–1650. By *C. R. Boxer,* Camões Professor of Portuguese, King's College, University of London. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1951. Pp. xv, 535. $7.50.)

THIS work by Professor Charles Boxer, in a field where he is pre-eminent, usefully extends our knowledge of the period of Christian influence in Japan, which covers the years between 1549, when Francis Xavier landed, and about 1650, by when Christianity had been all but entirely eradicated and the country shut off from foreign intercourse. It includes the remarkable record of Catholic missionary work, the growth of a new feudal society out of the anarchy of civil wars, and a series of important events in Japan's foreign relations. All these phenomena were closely interrelated, so that the introduction of Christianity and the extension of European trade to Japan may be regarded as decisive events in Japanese history. In Professor Boxer's opinion, with which most students will agree, "but for the introduction, growth and forcible suppression of Christianity . . . Japan would not have retired into its isolationist shell."

The main events of this period have been known to Western students for a long time. Murdoch in his monumental *History of Japan* paid a great deal of attention to the activities of foreign missionaries and traders, relying principally upon the published works of such writers as Charlevoix, Bartoli, and Pagès. These were good secondary sources, and Murdoch's account is in the main correct. But Professor Boxer, without claiming any startling new discoveries, has been able to correct or amplify previous work in this field in some important particulars. He has made good use of Jesuit reports preserved in the Ajuda Library at Lisbon, of papers among the Marsden MSS in the British Museum and of other valuable unpublished material.

By a curious mischance it happened that, while the copious reports of French

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and Flemish Jesuits in China and India were published and widely read in Europe, the no less valuable and interesting reports of their Portuguese colleagues in Japan were drastically censored and abridged by editors in Rome, who thought them long-winded and unedifying. So, while thanks to the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* Chinese culture was much admired in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, knowledge of Japan was scanty. Yet, buried in the archives of Rome and Lisbon there was a great wealth of descriptive material, mostly in the Portuguese language. There was even available in print the great series of Jesuit letters, the *Cartas* (covering the years 1549 to 1589), which were published at Evora in 1598 and contain a great deal of information about the institutions of Japan and the behavior of its people. Besides being often of real literary merit the *Cartas* are not inferior to the better-known *Relations* from India and China as historical documents.

Their value is indeed exceptional. They describe events and aspects of Japanese life that are scarcely touched upon in Japanese sources. Chamberlain, writing some fifty years ago, observed that if we had to depend upon Japanese sources we should know little of the Catholic episode in Japanese history. That is still true; and we may go further and say that modern research has shown (to quote Professor Boxter) "that the Jesuit accounts of some disputed facts of Japanese history are perfectly correct where the native historians have gone sadly astray."

It is difficult to single out for description any particular aspect of this book, but attention may be drawn to chapter III, "Christianity and the Kurofune," which sets forth interesting material upon the relationship between evangelization and trade, and throws some light upon the methods by which the Jesuit mission was financed. There are incidental details of navigational problems met by the Portuguese trading vessels, which are relevant to the work of the Jesuits, because "the whole existence of the mission in Japan depended upon the safe arrival of the annual Macao carrack."

Chapters IV and V treat in detail of the respective policies of Jesuits and Franciscans, their quarrel, and its political sequels. In chapter VI, dealing with pirates and traders, the author has some interesting comments on the expansion of Japanese activities in Southeast Asia, together with an exciting narrative of the destruction of the Portuguese ship *Nossa Senhora da Graça* (also known as the *Madre de Deus*) in Nagasaki harbor in 1610.

Chapter VII, entitled "The Palm of Christian Fortitude," is the grim story of the persecution of Christians which began in 1587. It includes a valuable discussion of the reasons for the increasing hostility toward the Jesuits and their converts displayed by Ieyasu and his successor, Hidetada. Here Professor Boxer carefully analyzes the complex of motives which led to the final eradication of Christianity by measures of ruthless ferocity. He justly observes that "neither the infamous brutality of the methods used to exterminate the Christians nor the heroic constancy of the sufferers has ever been surpassed in the history of martyrdom."

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The concluding chapter, "Sakoku or the Closed Country," deals with the gradual falling-off of foreign trade, the Shimabara rebellion, and the final decree of 1639, ordering the cessation of the Macao-Nagasaki trade and thus completing the pattern of seclusion.

There are useful bibliographical notes and some very convenient appendixes giving exact translations of important documents usually available only in extracts or summaries. Among these are Francis Xavier's letter to the Jesuits at Goa, dated Kagosima, November 5, 1549; the sailing log (*roteiro*) of the ship *Santa Cruz* on a voyage to Nagasaki in 1586; and affidavits concerning Jesuit and Franciscan rivalry, circa 1596, from British Museum manuscripts and other sources.

Altogether students of Japanese history have reason to be grateful to Professor Boxer for this store of information, well presented.

Suffolk, England GEORGE SANSOM

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE OPENING OF JAPAN, 1834–1858. By *W. G. Beasley*. (London: Luzac and Company. 1951. Pp. xix, 227. 21*s*.)

COMMODORE Perry's pioneer treaty with Japan (1854) was followed by a British convention (Stirling, 1855), and the important commercial treaty of Townsend Harris (1858) preceded by only a few weeks one negotiated in almost the same terms by Lord Elgin. The work of Perry and Harris had been path-breaking, while Stirling and Elgin contributed little to the opening of Japan. For many years British interests had been concerned with China, and the home government considered Japan only a minor corollary. Although the British were willing to have the Americans take the lead in treating with the Japanese, they unwittingly did contribute much to the success of the former. It was the reports of British aggressions in India and especially China which prompted Japanese statesmen to listen to Perry and Harris, although Dr. Beasley concludes "there is no evidence of any policy of deliberate British political and territorial expansion in Japan before 1858." About everything of importance had already been brought out concerning these early Anglo-Japanese relations, but when Dr. Beasley applied the technique of doctoral research he was able to add new details and clarify old ones, such as various proposals, after 1844, from British officials and merchants in China for a treaty-seeking mission to Japan and the indifference of the Foreign Office to such measures. The resulting dissertation is a very satisfactory performance. It is very probable that on this subject the last word has been said.

Most of the citations are to manuscript material found in the files of the British Foreign Office, Admiralty, Board of Trade, Treasury, Colonial Office, India Office, and Hudson's Bay Company Archives. Private correspondence, except for the Clarendon Papers, proved unrewarding. In addition, Japanese

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printed documents were consulted, as well as contemporary English periodicals and significant secondary works.

British writers frequently misspell Harris' given name to read "Townshend." Dr. Beasley not only does so in his text but he has altered the titles of three books to conform to this idiosyncrasy.

Stanford University PAYSON J. TREAT

THE END OF EXTRATERRITORIALITY IN CHINA. By *Wesley R. Fishel.* (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1952. Pp. xi, 318. $4.50.)

THIS work is a conscientious and well-documented study of the decline and the end of extraterritoriality in China, beginning with China entering the First World War in 1917—thereby terminating the extraterritorial rights of nationals of Germany and Austria—and ending in the new treaties signed between China and the United States and between China and the United Kingdom on January 11, 1943, and in the series of new treaties China negotiated with the other countries between 1943 and 1947.

Dr. Fishel's book is a useful contribution to our knowledge and understanding of China's nationalistic movement to free herself from the shackles of the "unequal treaties" in general and of extraterritoriality in particular, and of the policy of the treaty Powers in dealing with the aspirations and demands of the Chinese people.

But, as the author tells us in the preface, "since this study is based in large measure on research in the unpublished files of the Department of State to 1933, American policy with respect to extraterritoriality is the primary concern." The merits and weaknesses of this book seem to stem from the author's desire to limit, rather severely, the scope of his study to extraterritoriality and to American policy with respect to it.

Dr. Fishel's researches have produced a valuable and interesting record of the evolution and execution of American policy toward China, showing the leading parts played by a galaxy of statesmen who have influenced and shaped that policy, from Paul S. Reinsch in Wilson's time, through Charles E. Hughes and Elihu Root of the period of the Washington Conference, Jacob Gould Schurman of the post-Conference period, Frank B. Kellogg, John Van Antwerp MacMurray, Nelson T. Johnson, and Silas H. Strawn of the years of the Tariff Conference and the Extraterritoriality Commission and the Chinese Nationalist Revolution, down to Henry L. Stimson, Cordell Hull, and Stanley K. Hornbeck of the years of Japanese invasion and World War II. Historians of Sino-American relations will value this book for the materials the author has found in the unpublished files of the Department of State and in the private papers of the late Silas H. Strawn who was the American delegate to the Tariff Conference and the American commissioner and chairman of the Extraterritoriality Commission in 1925–1926.

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Some of the quotations from the State Department files are very interesting and reveal the personality of some of the chief architects of America's China policy, most notably the personality of the "strong-minded" Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg (pp. 91–98, for example). Such quotations often make the narrative lively and sometimes even exciting.

But extraterritoriality did not come to China as an isolated thing, nor was it modified and finally abolished as an isolated thing. It came and continued to expand together with such concomitant institutions as the "treaty ports" with their foreign settlements or concessions without which the system of extraterritoriality could not have operated and out of which there were developed other encroachments upon China's sovereign rights such as a foreign-controlled tariff fixed for many decades at the ridiculously low rate of 5 per cent *ad valorem*. China's nationalistic resentment against extraterritoriality therefore cannot be adequately treated except as a part of a general movement against all these concomitant infringements, of which the foreign control and restriction of tariff, because of the financial difficulties of the Chinese government, was always felt as most urgently in need of redress.

Nor can American policy with respect to extraterritoriality be adequately understood apart from the general social, intellectual, and political conditions and movements in China and apart from the attitude and policy of the other treaty Powers, especially of the major Powers.

All this is admitted by our author who says in the preface that "the negotiations for the abolition of extraterritoriality which were conducted by the Powers and China from 1927 on must be considered in relation to the other facets of Sino-foreign relations."

But by making "American policy with respect to extraterritoriality" his "primary concern," Dr. Fishel's book seems to have suffered in several ways. First, it has deliberately ignored such related "facets" as the tariff and the foreign settlements and concessions. In his chapter on the Washington Conference, not a word is said about its resolutions on the Chinese tariff and the temporary surtaxes. In the three chapters on the Commission on Extraterritoriality (pp. 69–126), there is only half a sentence (p. 115) about the Tariff Conference which was held in Peking almost simultaneously with the meetings and investigations of the commission. Such deliberate omissions make it difficult for the average reader to grasp the meaning of so many later references to "the Washington surtaxes" (which suddenly occur twice on page 134) and "tariff autonomy."

Secondly, this work exhibits a singular lack of appreciation of the historical importance of the Nationalist Revolution of 1924–1928, of the phenomenal military successes of the Northern Expedition of 1926–27 which in the course of nine months swept over the entire area south of the Yangtse River, and of the violently antiforeign and especially anti-British movements of 1925–27. In a work which devotes fifty-four lines (pp. 60–61, and 104–105) to the anti-revision views of the British missionary, the Rev. G. G. Warren, there are only two lines (p. 141) for

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a casual mention of the "famous Northern Expedition"! Of the intensely anti-British movements, Dr. Fishel mentions only "the Shanghai Incident of May 20 [which should be corrected to read "May 30"], 1925, and the consequent anti-foreign riots at Shameen in Canton and elsewhere . . . followed by anti-foreign boycotts from which the United States was the only Great Power that escaped" (p. 88). But he says nothing of the gigantic anti-British and anti-Hongkong strike and boycott in South China which lasted from June, 1925, until October, 1926, and which very nearly ruined Hongkong as a great port and center of industry and commerce. "In October, 1926," said Dorothy Orchard, "even after the boycott had ended, Hongkong had all the appearance of a deserted village. Business was dead. Buildings were empty, offices were closed and there was little activity of any kind." It was the truly ruinous effects of this eighteen-month strike and boycott and the military successes of the Northern Expedition which forced the British government to make a fundamental change in its China policy and issue the famous December memorandum (December 18, 1926) which is called "the British Démarche" in Dr. Fishel's book.

Before concluding this review, I would like to offer a correction of Dr. Fishel's conjecture as to the intention of Secretary Cordell Hull's letter (May, 1941) to the late Quo Tai-chi, who was passing through the United States on the way to assume his new post as minister for foreign affairs in the Chinese government at Chungking. In that letter, Mr. Hull assures Mr. Quo that "It goes without saying that the Government of the United States . . . expects when conditions of peace again prevail to move rapidly . . . toward relinquishment of the last of certain rights of a special character which this country, together with other countries, has long possessed in China by virtue of agreements providing for extraterritorial jurisdiction and related practices" (p. 208). This letter was the result of several frank and friendly conversations on the subject between Mr. Hull and Dr. Quo, at which Dr. Stanley K. Hornbeck and I were present. In a footnote (p. 293, n. 3) Dr. Fishel thinks that the Hull statement "may have been intended as a reply to a rather wistful plea for American initiative on the issue, made by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-chek . . . on May 10, 1941." He is doubly wrong: the Generalissimo's speech (quoted on pp. 293–94) made no reference to the issue of extraterritoriality, and the Hull statement had nothing to do with that speech.

New York, N. Y. HU SHIH

American History

THE STORY OF THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION. By *Raymond B. Fosdick*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1952. Pp. xiii, 336. $4.50.)

FUNDS AND FOUNDATIONS: THEIR POLICIES PAST AND PRESENT. By *Abraham Flexner*. With the Collaboration of *Esther S. Bailey*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1952. Pp. xiii, 146. $2.75.)

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SIGNIFICANT for the educational and social history of the United States are these two recent books which present the scope and growth of the older American foundations. Because their authors were active participants in foundation development, both books have clear tones of authority.

Mr. Fosdick tells the story of the Rockefeller Foundation and its related activities in a large volume of attractive format. He records objectively and well the facts about four great organizations which John D. Rockefeller financed to the prodigious total (based on the market figures of the period) of more than 446 million dollars: Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research (1901); General Education Board (1903); Rockefeller Foundation (1913); and Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial (1918).

Mr. Fosdick reveals that the view of the elder Rockefeller, "A man should make all he can and give all he can," was influenced by the philosophy of Andrew Carnegie. Rockefeller's policy of giving was guided by his close associate, the former Baptist minister Frederick T. Gates, and later by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., about whom he said, "My greatest fortune in life has been my son." Mr. Fosdick presents a wealth of details about the Rockefeller activities which—along with others—"enriched the intellectual and cultural life of America with a stream of universities, foundations, institutes, libraries and endowments without parallel in any other age."

Mr. Fosdick italicizes certain principles and practices, among them the concepts that "a foundation is . . . in a real sense a public trust"; that "great advantage accrues from an elastic charter"; that "grants . . . should not be tied to rigid and unchangeable purposes"; that decay stalks "in the tendency to exalt the machinery of organization"; that "the proper objective . . . is to prime the pump"; that "it is better to begin in a small way and progress by trial and error to larger ends"; that "an extensive series of small grants" may easily fritter away funds; etc.

In a conclusion marked by sagacity and literary effectiveness, Mr. Fosdick declares (1) that a foundation should be a pioneering institution: "its capital is venture capital and it should be used adventurously"; and (2) that "promising men and creative ideas are basic and fundamental and they are far more important than money."

Mr. Flexner's *Funds and Foundations* is a small book, written in the direct and lucid style of its author at his best. He begins with the Freedman's Bureau and the Peabody Fund and then sketches the development of the Carnegie and the Rockefeller foundations. In his appraisal of their policies past and present, Mr. Flexner is emphatic in both approval and disapproval. He approves, for example, "the sound procedure" of the General Education Board in the days of John T. Gates and Wallace Buttrick—when Mr. Flexner himself made his famous 1910 study which Raymond Fosdick terms "one of the great landmarks in the history of modern medicine in the United States." Mr. Flexner disapproves the 1930–1940 policies of the General Education Board and of later policies of the Carnegie Corporation. He attacks what he calls "the shotgun method": "small grants for

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limited periods," which he regards as "a waste of money." The sound procedure, he declares, "is to strengthen or to create institutions" as examples for others to emulate. Mr. Flexner closes with an appeal for the creation of additional foundations. "And for what in the first instance? For humanistic studies."

University of Cincinnati RAYMOND WALTERS

THE AMERICAN APPROACH TO FOREIGN POLICY. By *Dexter Perkins.* [The Gottesman Lectures, Uppsala University, II.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1952. Pp. 195. $3.25.)

THIS series of essays, originally delivered as lectures at Uppsala University in Sweden, is full of the rich insights of an extremely able scholar who has devoted his life to the study of American diplomacy. His own interpretations of what have been the most important forces shaping our foreign policy are offered to the reader for his consideration and in a manner that is charmingly free of dogmatism.

What Dexter Perkins has to say is worthy of careful consideration. Examining the problem of the degree of influence exerted by financiers, industrialists, and merchants, the author concludes that "the commercial interests have often exercised a substantial influence upon American policy; that American business established on foreign soil has exercised an influence far less, and that the bankers have exercised the least influence of all." This conclusion, while not in agreement with some thoughtful scholars, is well supported by evidence considering the limited space available.

Professor Perkins believes that the motivating force in American foreign policy "has come up from the people, rather than down from a political or diplomatic elite." American diplomats have never been able to ignore public opinion for long. Because the American people have shaped policy, this policy has shown an unusual concern for moral considerations. This has been a factor leading to both strength and weakness, to inconsistencies and to sentimentality. The democratic ideal is cited as one of the most vital of all factors. After the last war it led to a demand for free governments in the Russian security zone of eastern Europe when the United States had neither a direct interest nor the power to influence greatly affairs in that area.

In his two chapters on the American attitude toward war and peace the author expresses the opinion that a concern for national security has been a major cause in rousing Americans to war. Americans have also demonstrated that they have an ample supply of national pride which comes to the forefront after repeated assaults upon what they deem their national interests. Yet, Americans have not, in general, glorified war, and throughout their history they have prized peace.

It would be foolish to criticize the author for failing to offer conclusive evidence in support of each of his major points. This could only be done in a full-length volume on each of the topics rather than within the brief pages of an essay. There will be those who will question whether American foreign policy

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has been as benevolent or as free of economic ambitions as Mr. Perkins believes. That financial interests exerted a somewhat greater influence concerning the Far East than the author allows seems true to this reviewer. And regardless of how fine the motives of the government may have been, the dealings of individual Americans—as in the case of the Morgan-controlled American-China Development Company in 1905—have not infrequently injured our national reputation abroad.

Ohio State University PAUL A. VARG

SOCIETY AND THOUGHT IN MODERN AMERICA: A SOCIAL AND INTELLECTUAL HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FROM 1865. By *Harvey Wish,* Western Reserve University. [Society and Thought in America, Volume II.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1952. Pp. xii, 618. $5.00.)

To carry the large and complicated themes of "society" and "thought" across nearly ninety years of American history and compress them intelligibly within less than six hundred pages of text requires courage, no little erudition, and a nice sense of balance and proportion. Dr. Wish's volume reflects these qualities. It recommends itself both as a college text and as rewarding reading for anyone who seeks a well-written survey of American social and intellectual history. Many of its sentences, packed full of challenge, will invite classroom discussion. Four blocks of illustrations, totaling fifty-six pictures, add much to the book's attractiveness. The chapter-by-chapter annotated bibliography is a helpful supplement to the text.

Although the historian of "society" and "thought" can assume that their importance is obvious, he is obliged to define their limits, exercise a reasonable restraint in selecting from superabundant materials and, by means of an interpretation, convert those he selects into something more than a mere catalogue of disconnected facts.

In the main, the present author accepts the conventional view that politics, diplomacy, war, and constitutional debate may properly be excluded from social and intellectual history. Thus, for example, his index lists Billy the Kid, the Jukes, and roller skating but omits mention of Cleveland, Pershing, and the Sixteenth Amendment. Dr. Wish recognizes, however, that because social history centers upon people in the mass, while a history of thought necessarily stresses the gifted individual or the intellectual élite, the task of blending the two into a coherent whole, held together by ties of cause and effect, is a baffling one. He has not effected a complete merger but he faces up to this difficult problem ingeniously and with considerable success. Moving chronologically at a fairly even pace, his discussion uses 1890, 1917, and 1929 as the division points of many of its topics. The two dozen chapters have a 4,8,4,8 rhythm, the initial four describing the South and the last frontier as sections, the next eight focusing upon the widespread influences of urbanization and industrialization, the succeeding four expounding

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various important "isms" such as pragmatism, scientific determinism, and literary realism, while the concluding eight deal principally with characteristic social phenomena and intellectual currents between the First World War and 1952. Chapters on social life are enriched by an infusion of intellectual history in the form of the relevant ideas of one or more outstanding leader or scholar. This blending, however, is not followed in reverse and the four chapters on the thought of William James, Sumner, Holmes, and others are devoid of much social context.

Although the word "society" carries a suggestion of unity, the author discovered no way of describing Americans and their activities before 1917 without dividing them into captains of industry, wage earners, old immigrants, new immigrants, and other manageable clusters of a like sort. As usual when this fission is made, the economic and social extremes receive primary attention. So-called middle-class citizens, most numerous of all, tend to get lost in the shuffle, either because they are taken for granted or because they defy description except through case studies like the Lynds' *Middletown* of the 1920's. By largely confining his consideration of the farmer to the South before 1917 and to urban influences upon him before and after that date, the author probably does less than justice to the importance of ruralism. To segment American society for purposes of analysis can hardly be avoided but by doing so a premium is put upon the contrasts and conflicts at the expense of the similarities and agreements between the several parts. As a result the cement joining the various pieces of the social mosaic seems often to serve more effectively in holding them apart than in pulling them together. The standardizing effects of inventions, urbanization, and industrialization, however, enabled the author to portray the most recent thirty-five years of American social history without underlining the differences between geographic, ethnic, and economic groups.

By what means the Americans attained this "urban maturity," as Dr. Wish calls it, and its impact upon their thought and their cultural relations with the rest of the world is the main goal of his interpretation. In its pursuit he writes as a liberal but he rides no hobby when he explains why this maturity came to be. Environment, wealth, tradition, idealism, and the genius of individuals are levied upon at need. Without minimizing peculiarly American achievements, he takes special pains to give European thought and immigrants their due; nor does he forget that Negroes have contributed significantly to the life and culture of their country. And, withal, he finds it possible in his concluding chapters to sound a note of optimism, notwithstanding the adverse effects of economic depression and war for over twenty years. He is cheered because this "greater maturity was in the making to succeed the uncritical optimism of yesterday's pragmatists," "the youthful vitality of this country had never been greater," and "thoughtful Americans were ready to believe that the destiny of the individual was bound up with the salvation of all humanity."

In this sequel, Dr. Wish had a more difficult task than in his earlier book and has accomplished it well. The two volumes together provide a thoughtful and

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scholarly answer to the continuing eighteenth-century query, "What, then, is an American?"

University of Chicago WILLIAM T. HUTCHINSON

GEORGE WASHINGTON: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Douglas Southall Freeman*. Volume III, PLANTER AND PATRIOT. Volume IV, LEADER OF THE REVOLUTION. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1951. Pp. xxxviii, 600; viii, 736. $15.00.)

IN these two volumes, which begin with Washington's return to civilian life in January, 1759, and close with the arrival, on May 1, 1778, of the news of the French alliance, Freeman demonstrates, even more than in his first two volumes, the qualities which make him the great biographer he is. What are these qualities? First, of course, he possesses complete and easy familiarity with the double assignment of the historian, a scientific collecting of materials and an imaginative interpretation of them. The sense of mastery he communicates to his readers grows not alone from the often informative footnotes and appendixes or from the deliberate pace which omits no detail that can illuminate his subject but also from the unrestrained credit he gives to other careful scholars of the period, and from his constant awareness that he, and they, have scarcely begun to explore the American Revolution as a field of research. Most great libraries, he says, have all the needed materials for study, for, to an extent unusual for any historical period, the sources exist in printed form.

Second is the nature and intensity of his concentration upon Washington. Here he follows as devoted attendant and chronicler; there he becomes philosophic critic and appraiser. Always he depends in both approaches upon information available to Washington. What the British were doing he does not want to know, lest the knowledge turn him into a historian instead of a biographer. Seldom, therefore, does he quote British sources, and then only for facts which Washington himself knew, such as the condition of the clothing of his troops. By reason of this dual approach, space-taking though it is, he asks and answers the right questions about Washington, always within the twin limitations which dog a historian, the limitations of the evidence and of his own experience of life. When the evidence is especially scanty, as in Volume III, on the planter period, Freeman will undertake to guess at what goes on in Washington's mind. He will even, when the evidence bears it out, write down conversations. What he has succeeded in doing is to answer the greatest question of all: How could a Virginia planter become the Washington of the Revolution? His answer is clear. The young, ambitious, none too amiable Washington of the first two volumes slowly disappears as his economic and social position in Virginia betters; impatience that was often querulous is replaced by patience gained in dealing with friends and relatives; in small matters as in great his sense of justice is sharpened. These are the qualities which carried the young Republic through its darkest days, and anyone who wants quickly to

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see how much attention Freeman pays to the development of character need only turn to the rather extraordinary index entry under "Washington: Personal characteristics."

Freeman's third quality as a biographer can be described as respect for his audience. Those who take the trouble to read these volumes will find that he considers them, his readers, worthy of the man about whom they read. His style is even, unimpassioned, dignified, scrupulously honest, clear; not a style to be taken in gulps but to be read at leisure. That he can also write in a more journalistic fashion is seen in the pages which are inserted opposite to and comment upon the thirty illustrations in the text. In those one gets sometimes a character sketch, light and provocative, a little editorial, or an almost whimsically conceived question which he hopes some scholar may answer. But the main narrative, interrupted by these occasional sallies, proceeds on a lofty sympathetic plane. The character of Washington's officers must be understood if one is to understand his attitude toward them; matters of supply must be gone into whenever the absence of powder, clothing, or food creates an anxious situation for the commander and alters his plans; the continual importance of the British command of the seas must be realized; and the eternal problem in these early years of the war, finding enough men to make the semblance of an army and giving them enough discipline to insure that they will stand their ground, must be explained in its different aspects whenever knowledge of it becomes necessary for the reader to follow Washington's worries and decisions. All such matters, therefore, are discussed, deftly and well and often at length, so that the reader may live through these days as Washington lived through them.

In one slight respect, however, Freeman does not help his readers as he should. Even though they be costly, accurate and detailed maps of the various stages of a battle or a campaign should be drawn and included. The maps in these volumes are either contemporary maps or inadequate sketch maps, neither sufficiently clear to permit close following of the narrative.

Newberry Library STANLEY PARGELLIS

THE BROWNS OF PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS: COLONIAL YEARS. By *James B. Hedges*. [Studies in Economic History.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1952. Pp. xviii, 379. $6.00.)

ONE of the most valuable single collections of business records in the United States is the Brown Papers in Providence, extending from 1723 to 1913. Many historians have found these papers useful for information on various subjects, but Professor Hedges has searched them for the story of the business of the Brown family.

This first volume of his findings, which arouses enthusiastic anticipation of those to follow, is concerned with the colonial and Revolutionary periods of the eighteenth century and the early post-Revolutionary years. The Browns pursued

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varied opportunities for profit on sea and land. A most significant, and probably somewhat unique, aspect of their work was an emphasis on manufacturing: distilling rum and making spermaceti candles, iron, and its products. The Browns' trade, over the decades, ranged the North Atlantic. A notable characteristic of the Browns as businessmen was their flexibility, their ability and willingness to shift operations, geographically and functionally, with changing conditions and opportunities. They thrived under the vicissitudes of growing regulation of colonial trade, wars, and postwar depression. As the volume ends, the Browns were on the threshold of that revolution in business which was to bring the large specialized unit to replace the integrated diversity of the preceding mercantile period.

For the students of eighteenth-century American history and business history, this is an important book. It presents an excellent picture, in the setting of the times, of one of those mercantile concerns that tied the varied economic life of the colonies into a somewhat unified system and connected it with other regions and countries. The volume includes the years of revolution and postwar depression for which there is no comparable study.

The quality of the book must be emphasized. The author tells in considerable detail the story of men and business units and of policies and operations with the meticulous care, analysis, and objectivity of the conscientious historian and with the insight of the mature scholar. The reader sees the Browns as individuals at work, succeeding or failing in accordance with circumstance and their own decisions and techniques. The secret of their long-sustained success, concludes the author, "lay primarily in the personal qualities and business methods of the family."

Harvard University HENRIETTA M. LARSON

EARLY AMERICAN JEWRY: THE JEWS OF NEW YORK, NEW ENGLAND, AND CANADA, 1649–1794. By *Jacob Rader Marcus*. Volume I. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1951. Pp. xxviii, 301. $3.50.)

JACOB Marcus' volume presents a fresh approach to the study of American Jewish life, in its formative period, during colonial and early national times. The author avoids the more formal methods of historical writing; instead, he draws a genre portrait of early American Jewry on the basis of data revealed by some seventy personal and business letters, half of them hitherto unpublished. Dr. Marcus writes with candor, without the slightest traces of apologetics; occasionally, as he describes a curious detail, he writes even with tongue in cheek.

Various categories of interest and involvement are revealed in these letters. The reader gains new insights into the social life of the Jew, his strivings as well as his real need for integration. The commercial and maritime enterprise of colonial Jewry is fully covered, reflecting contacts in world-wide trade, traffic in indigo and slaves, and also industrial initiative. The "whaling" letter, which was preserved

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in the Public Record Office in London, is a rare document indicating that the ships of Aaron Lopez of Newport, which had formerly plowed the Arctic seas, reached such far-flung points as the Falkland Isles off the coast of Patagonia.

Religious life is amply described in these records. The correspondents freely discuss problems of Sabbath and festival observance in a Christian society, their attitudes toward intermarriage, kosher food, circumcision as a covenant rite, burial in distant Jewish cemeteries, and similar ritual practices. The nature of the struggle for civic, political, and religious rights also emerges from these letters. As regards the War of Independence, the letters clearly reveal that among Jews, as among all others in the colonies, there was division of sentiment.

The strength of this book—material supplied by the personal letters—is also its main weakness. The quality of the letters is uneven. Literary obscurity is not always undeserved. Ordinary life as described by ordinary people is frequently vapid and can be reduced to irrelevancies, thus frustrating the design of the author to present an accurate picture of life as it was really lived.

This is the first of a two-volume work. The reviewer hopes that, in his forthcoming volume, Dr. Marcus will be more selective in the choice of his letters and that he will reconsider his decision not to document his narrative, for students may then find it possible to relate the new material to other studies. It would also be well if the author could sometimes feel less enslaved to minutiae and if he would provide more frequently such excellent discussions as that in his section in the introductory chapter on the year 1648 or his excursus on denization and naturalization.

Dr. Marcus brings skill, painstaking research, and scientific method to his work. For this alone, *Early American Jewry* is an estimable contribution to the expanding field of American Jewish historiography.

Jewish Theological Seminary of America MOSHE DAVIS

MEMOIRS OF A MONTICELLO SLAVE: AS DICTATED TO CHARLES CAMPBELL IN THE 1840's BY ISAAC, ONE OF THOMAS JEFFERSON'S SLAVES. Edited by *Rayford W. Logan,* Professor of History, Howard University. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press for Tracy W. McGregor Library. 1951. Pp. 45. $3.00.)

MEMOIRS, diaries, and letters provide the social historian with some of his most significant and fascinating material. The historian rarely lacks for information about great events which get themselves recorded in many places, but the small matters of everyday life, so important to a full understanding of any period, frequently go unmentioned. For that reason the memoirs of Isaac Jefferson, a slave owned by Thomas Jefferson, are especially interesting and valuable, brief though the document is.

Isaac's reminiscences were recorded sometime before 1845 by Charles Campbell, the Virginia historian and antiquary, who died in the Staunton Lunatic

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Asylum in 1876. Although Campbell prepared the manuscript for printing in 1871, Professor Logan concludes from a study of the two versions of the document in existence that Campbell showed no evidence of his approaching breakdown in his editing and there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the statements attributed to the slave. The manuscript used for this edition is that preserved in the McGregor collection at the University of Virginia. A shorter version is preserved in the library of the College of William and Mary.

When Campbell interviewed Isaac, he was primarily interested in the slave's recollections of his master, and the interrogator's questions were framed to elicit facts about Jefferson. The shrewd servant provided a considerable amount of concrete and colorful information. For example, the picture of Jefferson so deep in writing or study that he would brook no interruption except to ring for a dumbwaiter to bring up water or fruit is a fresh sidelight on that busy man, and Isaac's comment on his learning is worth pages of abstract commentary: "Old master had abundance of books: sometimes would have twenty of 'em down on the floor at once: read fust one, then tother. Isaac has often wondered how old master came to have such a mighty head: read so many of them books: & when they go to him to ax him anything, he go right straight to the book and tell you all about it. He talked French & Italian" (p. 22).

Isaac's information will not alter our views of Jefferson or of his age, but it will help us to realize the human qualities of the man in his setting. For example, we are glad to learn that Jefferson would not shoot partridges or rabbits sitting, that he kept a set of blacksmithing tools in a library room upstairs and liked to make keys, locks, and other small objects in metal, and that he praised and rewarded his servants when they showed advancement in any special skill. Isaac himself learned to be a tinsmith, and later a maker of nails. In the latter trade he was so successful that he turned a neat profit for his master.

Isaac's memories of his trip to Philadelphia when Mr. Jefferson became president is worth comparison with present-day speed: three days from Monticello to Georgetown, where they crossed the Potomac, and five more days until they reached the old capital. The names of Jefferson's horses were characteristic of a classical scholar and lover of British and Norse legends. His favorite riding horses were Caractacus and Odin, and other horses were named Gustavus, Otter (Otho?), Remus, and Romulus. Jefferson had a coachman to drive his phaeton but when he wanted to drive fast, he took the reins and drove himself.

The portrayal of Jefferson in Richmond as the British approached is not the description of a storybook hero but it is infinitely more human. "Old master kept the spyglass & git up by the sky-light window to the top of the palace looking towards Williamsburg. Some other gentlemen went up with him. . . . The British was dressed in red. Isaac saw them marching. . . . They formed in line and marched up to the Palace with drums beating: It was an awful sight: seemed like the day of judgment was come. When they fired the cannon Old master called out to John to fetch his horse Caractacus from the stable & rode off" (pp. 16–17).

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Although the British searched the house and despoiled Mr. Jefferson's cellar of wine and rum, Isaac's father hid the family silver and saved it, a piece of ingenuity which earned him his freedom.

Altogether, the recollections of Isaac Jefferson, servant and blacksmith to the third president, provide the materials for a whole series of new pictures of life in Richmond, Philadelphia, or Monticello. It is a charming little book which ought to be in every library of Americana.

Folger Library LOUIS B. WRIGHT

THE LARKIN PAPERS: PERSONAL, BUSINESS, AND OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THOMAS OLIVER LARKIN, MERCHANT AND UNITED STATES CONSUL IN CALIFORNIA. Volume I, 1822–1842. Edited by *George P. Hammond,* Director of the Bancroft Library. (Berkeley: University of California Press for Bancroft Library. 1951. Pp. xxxi, 352. $10.00.)

THE plan to publish the valuable Larkin papers in the Bancroft Library at Berkeley, California, originated with George P. Hammond, the director of the library. A grant of funds by the regents of the university made possible the beginning of the project and this handsomely printed volume is the first tangible result. Ultimately the entire collection of Larkin papers will be published in ten volumes by the University of California Press.

Thomas Oliver Larkin's role in California history is well known after he was appointed United States consul at Monterey in 1844 and after he became President Polk's confidential agent the following year. Not so much is generally known about his activities during the preceding twelve years while he was becoming an influential and prosperous merchant at Monterey. It is this earlier period that is at least partially covered by the correspondence and other papers included in the present volume. Larkin was born in Massachusetts in 1802. In 1821 he migrated to North Carolina and engaged without much success in various commercial ventures. As a result, in 1831, he decided to sail to California where his half-brother was located. Arriving at Monterey in April, 1832, within a year he had opened his own general merchandise store. That he prospered in this venture is indicated by the fact that, although in 1833 he listed his assets at five hundred dollars, by 1842 he estimated that he was worth nearly $38,000.

With three exceptions, one of which is an interesting list of vessels arriving at Oahu (probably Honolulu) during the year 1836, the correspondence here printed is dated between January, 1839, and December, 1842. The correspondence is printed without correction of misspellings or faulty grammatical construction, and letters from Mexicans are in Spanish, without accompanying translation. The letters and other papers, mostly of a business nature, came from such places as Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz, San Francisco, Gilroy, New Helvetia, Valparaiso, Mazatlan, Tepic, Vera Cruz, Honolulu, and Boston. The writers were

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nearly as numerous as the places from which the letters were written. Some of the writers are fairly well known, such as Abel Stearns and the various Mexican officials, or are partially identified in the editor's introduction. However, there are several other writers whom the reader not well acquainted with early California history would be glad to have identified by footnotes. There are occasional references to such events of the period as the famous Graham affair of 1840–41, the United States exploring expedition of 1841 under Charles Wilkes, the abortive seizure of Monterey by Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones, the establishment of Sutter's Fort on the Sacramento River, and the beginning of the Hudson's Bay Company's trading venture in San Francisco. Only a few of the papers consist of drafts of Larkin's own letters.

The principal value of the papers included in this volume lies in the light they throw on the nature and range of Larkin's remarkable mercantile operations. He traded in hides and tallow, wheat, and lumber cut from redwood forests. His stock of goods included almost every kind of general merchandise, such as hardware of all kinds, tools, textiles, clothing, shoes, groceries, vegetables, tobacco, cigars, and even such luxuries as false jewelry, fancy silk handkerchiefs, satin ribbons, umbrellas, and ladies' work boxes. Prices for the various items are indicated in the papers, which thus constitute sources for the business history of the area and period. Succeeding volumes in the series will doubtless give less attention to Larkin's commercial activities and be devoted mainly to his role in the stirring events in California after 1844.

Dr. Hammond, the Bancroft Library, and the University of California Press are to be congratulated for this attractive and worthy first volume in a monumental series.

University of Oregon DAN E. CLARK

REFUGEES OF REVOLUTION: THE GERMAN FORTY-EIGHTERS IN AMERICA. By *Carl Wittke.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1952. Pp. ix, 384. $6.00.)

THIS is the most recent of the books called forth by the one hundredth anniversary of the Revolutions of 1848, and it will probably be the last of them. Certainly, for the Germans of 1848 Dean Wittke's coverage is complete and definitive and caps the research of many years—a labor that has already produced excellent biographies of two of the most important refugees of 1848, Karl Heinzen and Wilhelm Weitling.

Refugees of Revolution is a summary of the lives in America of these and other leaders and of the thousands of "plain people" who emigrated in the decade after 1848 from a Germany in which they were hampered, unhappy, or in danger. It is, however, a much larger work than that, for the author uses the Forty-eighters as a cultural leaven for all German-Americans, bringing new intellectual stimulus, idealism, and romantic reform interest, working through and upon

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the mass of foreign-born and bringing them into prominence in the American reform movements between 1848 and 1870. In his preface, Dean Wittke says that it was a period of cultural and political renaissance for German-Americans in which "the German element in the United States enjoyed its only Hellenic Age." *Refugees of Revolution* carries the story of this renaissance through to the time when many of the radicals and revolutionists became themselves conservatives and supported both Bismarckian methods and Hohenzollern principles of government in their pride and satisfaction in a unified Germany. Only Hecker and Heinzen and a few kindred spirits still spoke of the ideals of freedom and said that the German Empire was "more autocratic than the old Roman imperium."

The first chapters describe the emigration of the pre-1848 period and the character of the "German-America" of that era. The coming of the Forty-eighters and the impact of their intellectual stimulus upon the German-American press and cultural groups is discussed in detail, as are the problems and difficulties of adjustment of both the intelligentsia and the rank-and-file immigrants to economic conditions in the United States.

The lively reformers among the refugees soon found themselves at odds with American nativists and advocates of the temperance movement and with the Germans of earlier migrations who resented the attacks of the free-thinking newcomers on both the Lutheran and Catholic churches and refused to follow them into active participation in politics and in the antislavery movement. The Forty-eighters challenged, in their ardent desire for free institutions, many of the provisions of the American Constitution, especially those dealing with the powers and modes of election of the President and the Senate. In their enthusiasm for further revolutionary attempts in Europe, they urged an aggressive and chauvinistic foreign policy upon the United States. Some of them even espoused a nativistic policy against the Irish immigrants! All in all, the German Forty-eighters were disturbing guests.

The section on the Turners (chap. xi) is especially interesting. For more than twenty years the educational and social activities of the *Turnverein* made a great contribution to the life of many an American town that had a considerable German element. The *Turnfest* with its gymnastic drills, public addresses, musical entertainments, and torchlight processions and fireworks were of interest to more than Germans. The *Turnerbund* advocated various political and economic reforms and, in the period of the agrarian crusade, adopted resolutions favoring the income and inheritance taxes, direct election of President and senators, public ownership of public utilities, and various other planks of the third party platforms. Their program was distinguished, however, by clauses advocating the teaching of German and of physical education in public schools.

The chapters on the political activities of the Germans after 1848 and especially in the crisis of the 1860 election are good. The analysis of the political situation is the result of the most careful and extensive research and must go far

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toward settling the long-debated question of the influence of the German vote in the Middle West in the period 1854–1860. The complexities of the nativistic and slavery issues are dealt with, without, it seems, the omission of a single relevant contemporary citation!

The activities of the men of 1848 in military and civil posts during the Civil War receive a chapter with a frank discussion of the careers of Generals Carl Schurz and Franz Sigel. Professor Wittke refers frequently to Schurz throughout the book but does not, apparently, feel that he was typical of the refugees of the Revolution. Certainly his liberalism was not that of Hecker or Heinzen, nor does this book make him seem in any way the great man that some of his contemporaries thought him.

The Civil War united the factions in the ranks of the German-Americans and the years following the war found the Forty-eighters less at odds with their fellow Americans and with the institutions of their adopted land. Their influence was still felt in the German press, in the realm of music and the theater, and in various educational movements. Dean Wittke claims, it seems to me, far too much for his Germans in the way of cultural contributions. Even in the field of music, where their influence was most marked, there was much interest before they came and it would have grown had they gone elsewhere.

The book ends with the reaction of German-Americans to the new German Empire of 1871 and with a tribute to the passing of the spirit of 1848. It is a long, detailed, and valuable work: the style is lucid if not lively, the material is carefully chosen and presented clearly, and the research and scholarship evident but not obtrusive. The format of the book is excellent. Because of the nature of the material used there is no formal bibliography, but there are long sections of footnotes at the end of chapters and a very adequate and useful index. The main criticism—its encyclopedic character with long lists of names and details—one is scarcely free to comment upon because Dean Wittke has carefully disarmed the critic by his statement in the preface that "it seems unlikely that anyone will cover such a mass of newspaper material soon again" and that he is writing "for serious scholars of the history of immigration." It seems equally evident that even the serious scholar will have no need hereafter to delve into the German-language press for any of the material so fully presented in *Refugees of Revolution*.

University of Minnesota ALICE FELT TYLER

EMBATTLED MAIDEN: THE LIFE OF ANNA DICKINSON. By *Giraud Chester*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1951. Pp. xi, 307. $4.00.)

MAY Wright Sewall once commented that if the life of Anna Dickinson were ever "truly written," its readers would "wonder what spirit possessed her contemporaries to make parts of it possible." The present biography provides ample material for such wonder. Anna Dickinson, daughter of a respectable but

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straitened Philadelphia Quaker family, discovered her talent for oratory at an early age and began her career as a propagandist for the abolition of slavery before she was eighteen years old. She possessed a more acute political sense than many of her fellow abolitionists, and deliberately directed her intellectual energies to the political aspects of the struggle for the mastery of public opinion. The Republican party strategists were quick to perceive this and drew her into the official fold as a party campaigner. Her strong speeches served as trial balloons and provided an admirable means of testing the state of local feeling.

By 1863 Anna Dickinson was reputedly the best vote getter and campaign orator the Republicans possessed. In the crucial elections of 1862 and 1863 her contemporaries credited her with determining the outcome in some of the doubtful states, notably Connecticut and Pennsylvania. Party leaders in the latter state neglected to pay her the promised fees, but Speaker Colfax and a score of prominent Republicans in Congress, with a fitter sense of justice, acknowledged Miss Dickinson's services to the party by inviting her to address a convocation of Congress, the President and his cabinet, and the Supreme Court, from the rostrum of the House of Representatives. This the 22-year-old Quakeress did on January 16, 1864, speaking for an hour and a half on how to win the war and make the peace. Our political history provides few spectacles more remarkable.

From 1860 through the Harrison-Cleveland campaign in 1888, Anna Dickinson played a role in national politics. In her heyday she was a party propagandist, counsellor and confidante of political leaders, and the highest paid lyceum lecturer in the country. Probably no woman of her day wielded such political power, even though it appears to have been largely the power of hypnosis. Curiously enough, political historians seem to have drawn a veil over Anna Dickinson's name, and the biographer of Whitelaw Reid does not find the significant part she played in his subject's life deserving of mention.

Even in her most triumphant phase, Anna Dickinson was bitterly aware that the Republicans used her for their own purposes. Yet the fatal attraction she felt for the political arena (and those she found therein), added to the necessity of supporting her extravagant family on the lecture stage, induced her to reject opportunities for a career in the feminist movement better suited to her political philosophy and more lastingly rewarding. The practical impossibility of fashioning an effective political role in a society which denied women the right to participate except as "tolerated exceptions" undoubtedly gave rise to the profound frustration which finally destroyed her.

Giraud Chester has performed an excellent service in exhuming Anna Dickinson, washing her free of the dross accumulated during the tragic latter half of her life, and giving the general reader a lively account of her extraordinary career. He relied mainly on contemporary sources and the Dickinson Collection in the Library of Congress, and on the whole uses his materials skillfully. If the book is somewhat wanting in depth and perspective, it is because the author is more successful in projecting Anna Dickinson against the colorful background

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of her parasitic family and political friendships than the larger political background which gives permanent significance to her life.

Washington, D. C. LOUISE M. YOUNG

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS. Volume I, EARLY YEARS, 1817–1849. Volume II, PRE-CIVIL WAR DECADE, 1850–1860. Volume III, THE CIVIL WAR, 1861–1865. By *Philip S. Foner*. (New York: International Publishers. 1950, 1952. Pp. 448; 576; 448. Volumes I and III $4.50; Volume II $5.00.)

FROM the beginning of their history, most Americans have gained vicarious pleasure, if nothing more, from the success stories of self-made men. The men who followed Lincoln's path from log cabin to White House, or Carnegie's from poverty to riches, have been symbols of something in American society that was considered basic and distinctive. That Frederick Douglass, whose life embraced one of the most remarkable of these success stories, has never become a part of this tradition reveals something equally basic and distinctive—and infinitely less appealing—about this society. Douglass shared such traditional handicaps as poverty and lack of schooling with other self-made men; but these handicaps were dwarfed by the fact that he was born a Negro slave. There are an uncommon number of inspirational ingredients in his escape from slavery, his struggle to educate himself, his growth into a brilliant editor and orator, and his emergence as a distinguished leader and defender of his own people. Dr. Foner does not exaggerate when he ranks Douglass among the greatest Americans of the nineteenth century; and he has reason for criticizing historians whose writings have ignored Douglass while devoting much space to many contemporaries of smaller stature.

These three volumes of Douglass' writings through the Civil War period (a fourth volume of his post–Civil War writings will be published soon) will force future historians to give him the recognition he deserves. Foner, through his tireless industry in gathering this material from various libraries, and by his able job of editing, has made a major contribution to nineteenth-century political and social history. This is not a complete edition of Douglass' speeches, letters, and editorials, but the selections are excellent and provide a more than adequate sample of his views on the issues of his time.

Douglass had an astonishingly wide range of interests. He took an active part in nearly every phase of the middle-class reform movement which flowered in the 1840's, a few years after his escape from slavery in Maryland. He was an energetic crusader for temperance, world peace, land reform, and women's rights. But above all he was an outstanding abolitionist and agitator for Negro equality. He was constantly prodding northern free Negroes to fight discrimination, to reject an inferior status, and to demonstrate by their own efforts their talents and capacities. His criticism of racist doctrines would do credit to a twentieth-century

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sociologist or biologist. From its start he strove to make the Civil War a crusade to abolish slavery. By 1863 he was hard at work recruiting Negro troops and protesting against discrimination in the army. Before the end of the war his interest had shifted to the problems of reconstruction and to the future status of the freedmen. He was among the first to realize that the ballot would be vital to his people if they were to guard their rights. In behalf of all these causes Douglass spoke with an eloquence comparable to Webster's, and wrote with an editorial pen that rivaled Greeley's. Even a century later these selections make absorbing reading.

The biographical material which Foner includes in each volume is less satisfying. Douglass never quite emerges as a real man of flesh and blood. Foner's subjective evaluations of the men and events of this period would have been far more persuasive if he had written with greater restraint and subtlety. He is sometimes guilty of oversimplifying highly complex situations. Actually, Douglass comes to life more through his own writings than through Foner's biography; hence it is fortunate that the biographical material is only a small fragment of each volume. It is in the role of editor that Foner has made his real contribution toward enhancing the historical reputation of Frederick Douglass.

University of California, Berkeley KENNETH M. STAMPP

FOREIGNERS IN THE UNION ARMY AND NAVY. By *Ella Lonn.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 725. $8.50.)

ONCE again students of the Civil War are under obligation to Professor Ella Lonn for a notable contribution to the history of that conflict. Following the appearance of her *Foreigners in the Confederacy* a decade ago she turned to the North, and painstaking and tireless research in a wealth of manuscript and printed materials has resulted in a companion volume that is fully worthy of the earlier study. Because the importance of foreigners in the Union forces has long been recognized there is less that is basically new in this volume, but its completeness, its thoroughness, its wealth of detail, and its unbiased presentation of controversial problems make it of great value. Whereas in her earlier volume Professor Lonn considered the foreigners' part not only in the military activities of the Confederacy but in civilian life as well, this study is confined to the participation of the foreign-born in the Union army and navy. This more limited scope was doubtless dictated by the tremendous size of the undertaking and by the fact that there was more need for such a broad study in the South because of the widely held belief that foreigners in the South were few and relatively unimportant.

Although in the title of the volume under review the navy holds a place of equality with the army, only one of the twenty-one chapters in the book is devoted to the navy. A few general chapters are concerned with such topics as "Motives of the Foreign-Born," "Attitude toward the War Issues," and "Support

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of the War Effort by the Home Front," but the bulk of the book is devoted to tracing the war careers of many important individual foreigners, describing the organization and services of regiments and brigades comprised wholly or largely of foreigners, and portraying their life in camp.

Professor Lonn does not attempt to present precise figures for the various nationality groups in the Union army, but a study of the figures of other students of this problem leads her to the conclusion that there were slightly more than half a million foreign-born enlistments in the army, amounting to between one fourth and one fifth of the total enlistments. The two largest groups were, of course, the Germans and the Irish. In proportion to their percentage of the population, both these groups, but especially the Germans, furnished more than their fair quota of troops. The contribution of the foreign-born was not merely in numbers, however. Many of them were experienced, and either as well-disciplined privates or trained officers they were of inestimable value. As surgeons, engineers, and cartographers they also rendered significant special services.

In considering the effect of the war on the foreign-born soldier Professor Lonn recognizes that in greater or less degree each participant, and the men and women on the home front as well, underwent a process of "Americanization." They did not lose their loyalty to the homeland, but they developed a new loyalty to their adopted country. "Each group had suffered for its country and emerged with deepened patriotism."

Professor Lonn has done an excellent job—it will not need to be done again, and indeed few would have the temerity to undertake it. The Louisiana State University Press has also done its part but the devotion of its editorial staff to parentheses mars nearly every page.

University of California, Los Angeles BRAINERD DYER

DOCTORS IN BLUE: THE MEDICAL HISTORY OF THE UNION ARMY IN THE CIVIL WAR. By *George Worthington Adams.* (New York: Henry Schuman. 1952. Pp. xii, 253. $4.00.)

THE purpose of Dr. Adams has been to "illuminate certain aspects of the Civil War, and the medical sciences of that period." He also intended his work to further public understanding of the problems of military medicine. *Doctors in Blue* opens on that pavilion of chaos which was the Medical Bureau of 1861. Before the war Surgeon General Lawson had proved as strict in his economies as in his observance of formalities. His successor, Clement Alexander Finley, showed no signs of meeting the crisis with intelligence and adequate preparation. He blocked the efforts of the U. S. Sanitary Commission in its desire to invigorate the Medical Bureau; he allowed himself to become embroiled in a newspaper war with the commission. His neglect brought on a congressional investigation which helped to accomplish his downfall. It was under Surgeon General William Alex-

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ander Hammond that the Medical Bureau attained its full stature among the divisions of the War Department and won the applause of foreign doctors. Dismissed by court martial in August, 1864, he was replaced by Dr. Joseph K. Barnes, who initiated little that was new but carried out what remained of Hammond's program.

Dr. Adams tells the complex medical story of inaction to efficiency in a short space. By trial and error as well as by weeding out incompetents and replacing them with intelligent leaders the Medical Bureau developed an effective ambulance corps, medical supply, and hospital system. Before the discoveries of Lister these doctors of uneven training learned to curb disease through cleanliness; they saw that women in the general hospitals could become good nurses. In the school of battle horrors many surgeons were graduated as skilled operators who might otherwise have been shut off from extensive experience. Such great reputations as W. W. Keen and J. S. Billings came to the fore through the experience they won in the war.

Dr. Adams has drawn on government publications, the files and the publications of the Sanitary Commission, accounts of doctors and nurses, and several medical journals. He has admirably compressed much information into 230 pages of text. Everything that is essential is here; but the virtue of compression has its defects. No room is left in which the principal actors can move; no space can be devoted to those hopes and rancors which were formative in the development of an able medical corps. The leading actors therefore do not emerge as persons. The jealousy of the Medical Bureau for the U. S. Sanitary Commission is well known; but Dr. Adams nowhere tells how the Bureau regarded the Western Sanitary Commission, the Christian Commission, and a host of other benevolent organizations.

These omissions, however, do not detract from the success of *Doctors in Blue*. The student of American history will learn that it illuminates a side of war he rarely thinks important. He ought to find such chapters as operations and infections, army sanitation and hygiene, and diseases and treatments enlightening for what they teach about military medical practice and for what they reveal regarding public health in America of the mid-nineteenth century. The student of medical history and public health will discover a rewarding study of a period which has been neglected for the more dramatic advances in bacteriology. The work of Dr. Adams forms a meaningful chapter in the age of sanitary science, a time which was once dismissed as concentrating on pipes, drains, and bad smells. On page 6 the name "Dr. Jacob Hanson" should read "Dr. Jacob Harsen."

Williamsburg, Virginia WILLIAM QUENTIN MAXWELL

THE LIFE OF BILLY YANK: THE COMMON SOLDIER OF THE UNION. By *Bell Irvin Wiley*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1952. Pp. 454. $6.00.)

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THIS volume is a fitting companion to the author's *Life of Johnny Reb,* all except for the title. Confederate soldiers were known in the North during the war as Butternuts, Secesh, Graybacks (as were also the soldiers' ubiquitous body lice), Johnnies, Rebels, and Rebs. But the name that really stuck was Johnny Reb. Whatever else the Confederates may have called Northern soldiers, certainly the name Billy was never so common as to become established. After a careful search, Wiley found the term Billy Yank in the title of a book published in 1905, a name promptly buried again for nearly half a century, and utilized it anew so as to make his two volumes have similar titles. It remains to be seen whether this improvised name can be made enduring. The word Yankee (or Yank) itself is a misnomer for any person living west of New England, but Confederates always stretched the term to apply to all who did not secede. The irony of the situation is that, abroad, all Americans are Yankees, including Southerners themselves.

A great amount of time and effort, well expended, must have gone into the writing of this book. The author has ably utilized huge stores of soldiers' manuscript letters and diaries stored in many collections over the country, most of the important printed materials of a like kind, histories of army units, periodicals and newspapers, public documents, special studies, and pictures. His notes run to 1,406 in number, occupying 73 pages in the back of the book. The awkwardness of this location is partially alleviated by top-of-the-page references to page numbers in the text, which was probably a compromise between the author's desire for footnotes and the publisher's insistence on backnotes.

The thirteen chapters of the book cover most of the activities and kinds of experiences of the soldiers, from their muster until their discharge from service. One sees the soldier in the soldier's own understanding as he leaves home, travels to camp, accustoms himself to army life, cooks his meals, forages and marauds, plays, gambles, prays, drinks, flirts with the girls, and writes letters to the girls back at home. Experiences on the march or aboard trains or ocean transports (steamboat travel is scantily portrayed), the terrors and excitement of battle, life in winter camp, and suffering in prisons live again in these pages.

Above everything else, Wiley is eminently fair in his treatment of the Union soldier. Except for an occasional reference to Manassas, Stones River, and Seven Pines, where the Northerner would say Bull Run, Murfreesboro, and Fair Oaks, one would hardly suspect that the writer was born and has spent most of his life in the South. When he says Manassas it is probably from habit, and certainly not from prejudice. Possibly it is in order to make the term recognizable to the Daughters of the Confederacy. Wiley sees the Southern and Northern soldiers as pretty largely the same sort of people, different only in their habitual attitudes toward sectional questions. In quoting the soldiers, the author is sometimes startlingly uninhibited in the copying of words that may add to the sale of the book by getting it banned by the Boston police.

The eight-page index is largely composed of proper names, sometimes without the given names of persons not hard to identify, such as President Hovey (Alvin

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Peterson) of the Illinois State Normal College and some others who are certainly listed in the adjutant generals' reports of the various states. This is hardly a major deficiency in so good a book.

University of Illinois FRED A. SHANNON

GLORY ROAD: THE BLOODY ROUTE FROM FREDERICKSBURG TO GETTYSBURG. By *Bruce Catton.* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1952. Pp. 416. $4.50.)

EIGHT critical months of the Civil War are chronicled in this gripping story of the Army of the Potomac in its bloody encounters with a worthy foe, the Army of Northern Virginia. In *Mr. Lincoln's Army,* Bruce Catton wrote about the trials of the great Federal Army of the East under its first and best loved leader, George "Little Mac" McClellan. Now he has given us an equally readable account of the only battles fought under its other three commanders: Ambrose E. Burnside, Joseph Hooker, and George G. Meade. Whereas this army was to carry on the bitter strife for two more years, all subsequent major battles were guided by U. S. Grant acting as commander in chief.

It fell to the destiny of Burnside, self-admitted failure, Hooker, who lost his nerve at the crucial moment, and Meade, man of caution, to direct these predominately eastern regiments through the hells of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg. Opposed to them were the tattered, ill-equipped, but seemingly invincible legions from Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Tennessee, and the Gulf States: infantry, admitted by Hooker himself to have "acquired a character for steadiness and efficiency unsurpassed in ancient or modern times," ably led by "Stonewall" Jackson and "Old Pete" Longstreet, and cavalry, accustomed to riding circles around the Federals with Jeb Stuart at the head. These made up an army outnumbered but at the peak of its strength with supreme faith in its incomparable commander in chief, Robert E. Lee.

That the oft-buffeted Army of the Potomac should in this eight months period suffer two humiliating defeats and gain one strategic victory despite tactical defeat in that battle, Gettysburg, is no reflection on the bravery of the men in the long ranks of blue. Instead it is a reflection on the incompetent leadership in higher echelons imposed upon this army—leadership gained more by political preferment and conniving in Washington than by merit on the field.

Whereas this is primarily a story of the campaigns of late '62 and early '63 as seen through the actions of the Army of the Potomac, no one should make the mistake of assuming that this book is a partisan history. Mr. Catton has been completely objective and has thoroughly digested the varying interpretations of the many authors who have reviewed the events of this period. As a result we are rewarded with a sound, vivid description, not only of these campaigns but also of the internal upheaval of the North at war. The political and economic backgrounds have been adequately covered and a generous sprinkling of human-

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interest stories have been added to make *Glory Road* a book of value to Civil War student and general reader alike. An imaginative style, with strong descriptive passages of prose, enhances the readability of this worth-while volume.

Houston, Texas WALTER H. HEBERT

PLOUGHSHARES INTO SWORDS: JOSIAH GORGAS AND CONFEDERATE ORDNANCE. By *Frank E. Vandiver.* (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1952. Pp. xiv, 349. $5.00.)

THE name Gorgas is widely known. It has recently been placed in the New York Hall of Fame. It usually conjures memory of the medical miracle wrought by William Crawford Gorgas, whose conquest of yellow fever made possible the construction of the Panama Canal. The name Amelia Gayle Gorgas is carved deeply in stone high above the wide columned steps of her monument, the imposing library of the University of Alabama. The gorgeous Gorgas oak, which stands guard majestically over the beautiful little ante-bellum Tuscaloosa home of the Gorgas sisters, is a nationally famous botanical exhibit.

Ploughshares into Swords is not the story of ancient trees or of beloved librarians or of great doctors. It is the biography of Amelia's husband and William's father, the highly efficient chief of ordnance, Confederate States Army. It is more than that; it is almost a history of the Ordnance Department, C.S.A. The research is well done. The style, amateurish in the opening part, improves in the middle portions, and becomes almost brilliant toward the last.

Josiah Gorgas, a Pennsylvanian, begins his professional career after West Point as a cantankerous, impertinent, and highly impatient young officer. After what to him were exasperating experiences in the Mexican War and in minor posts in U. S. Ordnance service he was assigned to command Mount Vernon Arsenal near Mobile. There fate brought him Amelia, daughter of the former governor of Alabama, John Gayle. They were married the day after Christmas, 1853. In time came Willie and five others. Josiah had reason to be proud of his family. He loved them deeply; and he loved their Southland. But he never lost any love for his superiors in U. S. Ordnance; and his superiors had no reason for loving their outspoken subordinate.

The combination of circumstances here gave to the Confederacy an able officer. From April 8, 1861, until the end, Gorgas was chief of ordnance. He rose slowly in rank from major to brigadier general. The author, in his opening paragraph states that Josiah's was a "military career which was to contribute more than that of any other man, with the exception of Robert E. Lee, to the success of the armies of the Confederacy." Two hundred seventy pages later in this chronicle, one learns that when the Federal Navy had almost closed the pipelines from Europe, when the Confederate treasury was practically depleted, when Sherman had done his work, Gorgas still stood ready to distribute a few guns and bullets and saddles and swords. But the South's ploughshares were gone.

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Gorgas had done a fine job and perhaps the author's initial statement is not too extravagant.

The story of Gorgas in the postwar period is one of pathos common to the destitute South. He tried in vain to build and operate an iron foundry in Bibb County, Alabama. He tried with some success to put the new University of the South on its feet. He became president of the University of Alabama, then trying to rebuild itself upon ashes left by Wilson's raiders. Infirmity took him before he could succeed.

But "Willie" was now a doctor; and old Josiah in his last days was proud and hopeful.

Air War College CLANTON W. WILLIAMS

BOSS RUEF'S SAN FRANCISCO: THE STORY OF THE UNION LABOR PARTY, BIG BUSINESS, AND THE GRAFT PROSECUTION. By *Walton Bean*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1952. Pp. xii, 345. $5.00.)

IRONIC as it may be, it is refreshing in this day and age of international tension and national defense measures to return at least for a few hours to an area of American history which not so long ago was regarded as "grim." In a well-written study Professor Bean of the University of California, Berkeley, has impressively indicated how much light can be thrown on the activities of political bosses and the ramifications of municipal corruption when the techniques of modern historical research are competently employed. It is true that not every political boss has taken the time to write his memoirs, as did Boss Ruef, and a good many of the more fortunate and possibly more shrewd bosses have escaped judicial processes under which millions of words of testimony were recorded dealing with their activities. Nevertheless, despite these advantages at the command of the author, much credit is deserved on account of the substantial addition which his book represents to the scholarly literature in the fields of political bossism and municipal history. One could only wish that equally useful and informing studies were available in the cases of such bosses as Ed Butler of St. Louis, "Doc" Ames of Minneapolis, George B. Cox of Cincinnati, William Flinn of Pittsburgh, and at least certain of the Tammany Hall and Philadelphia bosses.

Professor Bean's study, published as it is by one of the leading university presses, may well cause raised eyebrows among the more conservative scholars because it includes no footnotes, contenting itself with brief explanatory notes at the end summarizing the main sources depended upon for the preparation of each chapter and indicating that a "more fully and specifically documented manuscript" is to be found in the Bancroft Library. In these days of high printing costs the shortcut represented by such a course is probably justified, but one can be pardoned for looking back with a certain nostalgia to the good old days when

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scholarly works could be depended upon to include at least reasonably generous footnotes and invariably a citation to the sources of direct quotations.

There may be some question as to the heavy reliance on the Ruef memoirs and court records in the San Francisco graft prosecutions, but in general Professor Bean gives the impression of mature judgment in such use. The only serious misgiving which the reviewer might mention is at the point where Ruef's descent into the mire of open corruption is dealt with. Professor Bean seems to accept (pp. 80–83) the explanation of Ruef in his memoirs which maintains that such action was the result of a desire to keep the board of supervisors from scandalous behavior which would bring the city administration into unfavorable publicity. This is an interesting justification, one must admit, but it is somewhat difficult to accept it at face value.

Ohio State University HAROLD ZINK

THE MEMOIRS OF HERBERT HOOVER. Volume II, THE CABINET AND THE PRESIDENCY, 1920–1933. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1952. Pp. xii, 405. $5.00.)

MR. Hoover says that he undertook "the laborious task of preparing these volumes, with its denials of relaxation and normal recreation . . . to support the American people in their own true philosophy of life—and to present the consequences of turning away from it" (p. vi). Much of this volume does seem laborious, incorporating the detail of long quotations from published documents without clarifying some controversial points such as Judge Parker's nomination.

Yet while this second volume falls below the first in style and popular appeal, it conveys views and atmosphere, as well as the sensitivity of a man who felt pride and responsibility rather than zest in the presidency. Though Mr. Hoover has a gift for anecdote and characterization, he rarely dwells on personalities, which may be suggestive. Hoover was close to few men in affection or policy—not to Harding and his "playmates," not to Coolidge, who frowned on his public works projects and told him no more about his plans for 1928 than he told the reporters, not to Hiram Johnson, who in 1920 "joined the isolationist newspapers in an orgy of personal abuse and slander directed at me" (p. 35), not to the "New York promoter-bankers," whose "social instinct belonged to an early Egyptian period" (p. 107), not to the "Republican Old Guard" (p. 192) and "such Republican phenomena as Senators Penrose, Watson, Knox, Lodge, and their followers" (p. 34). He does speak warmly of Al Smith and of Andrew Mellon, who, like Hoover, "had no use for certain varieties of New York banking" (p. 58) and who suffered from "scandalous persecution under the New Deal" (p. 60); he praises John L. Lewis (pp. 221–22). He comments that Harding, whatever his shortcomings in experience and intellect, was neither reactionary nor radical, citing his differences with bankers and steelmen—and also that "he vetoed the so-called McNary-Haugen bill, which provided a regimentation of farmers" (p.

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47). He was clearly to the left of Coolidge ("a real conservative, probably the equal of Benjamin Harrison" [p. 56]) but preferred him to members of "the Radical bloc in Congress," as Norris ("a devoted socialist; certain left-wing women furnished funds for his elections and for the maintenance of a publicity bureau in Washington which constantly eulogized him" [pp. 197–98]). Whatever he shared with Theodore Roosevelt, whom he supported in 1912, he stood apart from most of the progressives not only in his wariness of government even while he greatly invoked governmental power, but also in the reserved and impersonal spirit so evident in his recollections.

By considering the depression and the election of 1932 in a separate volume, Mr. Hoover gives useful emphasis to sometimes forgotten phases of his administration, although at the price of some unreality: his failures are mostly offstage. While he says little that is new on foreign policy, he states his principles with vigor. His "over-all hope was to pull the people of the United States out of the extreme mental and spiritual isolationism which for years had made impossible a proper American participation in the constructive building of peace in the world" (p. 378). He stresses his differences with both the isolationists and Stimson, who was "a mixture of a soldier and an advocate" and who would not have been Secretary of State if Hoover had known Charles Francis Adams better (pp. 219, 220). His view of sanctions, which Stimson wanted in 1932, is that they would have brought war and later contributed to war in 1941 (p. 376 n.). Hoover and Stimson also differed, then and in their books, in their views of British policy. Accounts of such differences add to the history of that time and this.

University of Oregon EARL POMEROY

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES. In two volumes. By *Merlo J. Pusey*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1951. Pp. xvi, 409; vii, 411-829. $15.00.)

PORTRAYAL of the life of Charles Evans Hughes requires a broad canvas. He was a lawyer of such persuasiveness that Chief Judge Cardozo of the New York Court of Appeals deliberately kept his mind in suspense for twenty-four hours after a Hughes argument to avoid being excessively influenced by the man's dynamic personality; his professional income in one year during the 1920's reached the figure of $400,000. As a man in his forties, he in 1905 established a nation-wide reputation when for a committee of the New York legislature he conducted an investigation of scandals in the insurance business. He served thereafter two terms as governor of New York with an energetic display of integrity and efficiency amid a boss-ridden political system. With an appointment from William Howard Taft he served for five years as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States as one of the three outstanding men then on the Court, resigning in 1916 to attempt to reunite the divided Republican political party in what proved to be an unsuccessful candidacy for the presidency. He established a world-wide reputation as Secretary of State from 1921 to 1925

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and made a tremendous impact upon the conduct of American foreign affairs. In spite of the refusal of the United States Senate to have any connection with the Permanent Court of International Justice, he served for a time as a jurist on that tribunal, resigning in 1930 to succeed William Howard Taft as Chief Justice of the United States. He served as Chief Justice during eleven critical years in which the great depression and the Roosevelt New Deal shook our institutions to their very foundations.

As author of this biography, Mr. Pusey, an associate editor of the Washington *Post,* has ranged widely in his search for materials bearing directly upon the life of his subject and has organized those materials with skill and literary fluency. In the approximately eight hundred pages of his two volumes, he has not been able to tell all that needs to be told about the multiple activities of his subject. Some segments suffer greatly from brevity of treatment and particularly from want of background material and essay appraisal, but he has told a great deal and told it well. Volume I, carrying the story from 1862 until 1921, provides fascinating new material about the early life of Hughes as the son of ardently evangelical Baptist parents. He was at once the spiritual heir of his parents and a rebel against their pattern of evangelism. The background account helps us to understand on the one hand the integrity and sense of justice and the enormous concentration of energy which Hughes displayed, and on the other hand his refusal to accept responsibility for the conduct of other men which was not geared directly to his own performance. While later materials in the first volume are carefully presented, it cannot be said that they make profound addition to our knowledge or understanding of Hughes as governor, as associate justice, or as presidential candidate. The basic facts are there, but they are there largely without interpretation and without the background necessary to illumination either of state and national political systems or of the federal judiciary.

The author makes his richest presentation in the two hundred pages—half of his second volume and one fourth of his total product—which deal with the four years between 1921 and 1925 when Hughes was Secretary of State. In these pages Hughes comes to life as a brilliant and captivating personality with great skill in the leadership of both American and foreign peoples in the conduct of international relations, and with substantial success in spite of the recalcitrancy of the United States Senate with respect to the World Court and other matters. He was virtually the master of the Washington Conference, and in spite of the weakness of the presidency during the Harding period he succeeded in doing a great deal to improve our relations with other countries.

By contrast with the allotment of 200 pages to the four years as Secretary of State, 140 pages summarize the eleven years spent as Chief Justice. Within the space limits the latter subject is handled with considerable skill and with far greater accuracy than representatives of the press usually display in the handling of legal materials. In this section as in other parts of the book, it is true, the author seldom sees Hughes other than in the perspective of Hughes himself.

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Having the advantages of long conversations with his subject and of access to an unpublished autobiographical sketch, he, like judges before whom Hughes had appeared as a lawyer, felt the spell of a powerful personality. In any event, it is perhaps too early to weigh Chief Justice Hughes and the Supreme Court of his period on a scale which would be at once larger than that applied by Hughes himself and acceptable to the wide audience for the book which is sought by the author and his publisher. Only a few items in the treatment of cases or the history of the Court bear the definite touch of novelty—such as the fact that Hughes was asked by the Court to suggest to Justice Holmes the advisability of retirement. Some comparisons are inevitable between this biography and Henry F. Pringle's biography of Chief Justice Taft. Although Court materials are here handled with greater skill than in the study of Taft, they lack the illuminating benefit of a vast amount of personal correspondence dealing both with cases and with Court personalities which was available to the Taft biographer. In spite of such limitations as it possesses, however, this full-length portrayal of Hughes is a distinguished and valuable piece of work.

Johns Hopkins University CARL BRENT SWISHER

JOSEPH B. EASTMAN, SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE. By *Claude Moore Fuess.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1952. Pp. xv, 363. $5.00.)

IN these days when newspapers abound in stories of the misdeeds, questionable practices, and stupidity of federal officials, it is refreshing to read the biography of a more typical public servant. Eastman began his career as the holder of a fellowship in a Boston settlement house. After seven years as secretary of the Public Franchise League of Boston and four years as a member of the Massachusetts Public Service Commission, Woodrow Wilson appointed him in 1919 to the Interstate Commerce Commission. Reappointed by Harding and Hoover, who thought him too radical, and by Roosevelt, who thought him too conservative, he remained on the commission until his death in 1944.

During these years he was recognized, and correctly so, as the leading transportation expert in the country and was the inevitable choice in 1933 for Coordinator of Transportation during the tough days of the New Deal and as Director of Defense Transportation during the Second World War. As Coordinator his most constructive achievement was the Motor Carrier Act of 1935. Of the numerous jobs which he headed as member of an overworked commission perhaps the most notable was the Southern Class Rate Investigation of the early 1920's. With few family ties he gave his undivided time to the problems of transportation and to the welfare of his country. Urbane, unruffled, and in full command of the facts, he dealt with management, labor, Congress, and the Executive with utter independence. His method was persuasion rather than force.

Eastman never quite relinquished his belief that government ownership and operation was the only solution to the railroad problem, but he did not push the

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idea as long as the railroads did an adequate job. His high respect for the functions of the Interstate Commerce Commission as a nonpartisan, nonpolitical organization created by Congress, aroused his opposition to any efforts to reduce it to a subordinate position in the executive branch.

Although the author, Claude Fuess, is no railroad expert, he is an experienced biographer and he writes smoothly and pleasantly. He knew Eastman personally and has had access to many files of letters and, of course, to Eastman's published reports and addresses. There are no footnotes but enough is said in the text to lead any student to the more important documents. Eastman was not a spectacular person nor one of world significance, but his work was important and his biography is worth reading.

Smith College HAROLD U. FAULKNER

BACK DOOR TO WAR: THE ROOSEVELT FOREIGN POLICY, 1933–1941. By *Charles Callan Tansill,* Professor of American Diplomatic History, Georgetown University. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. 1952. Pp. xxi, 690. $6.50.)

To the work of World War II "revisionists" such as the late Charles A. Beard, George Morgenstern, William H. Chamberlin, Frederic R. Sanborn, and Harry Elmer Barnes, Professor Tansill now adds a much more weightily documented volume. In addition to the printed sources he has made abundant use of numerous collections of personal papers and a wealth of material from State Department archives.

The basic thesis of the book can be stated in a few sentences. The Soviet Union, in order to promote its own program, was the instigator of war in both the Far East and Europe. "Russia instigates war in the Far East; Roosevelt blames Japan" is a characteristic chapter heading; "Stalin lights the fuse of World War II" is another. Japan was the natural barrier to the spread of communism in Asia; Germany to its spread in Europe. The United States was guilty of a fatal error in opposing Japan; the democracies similarly erred in backing Poland against Hitler. Roosevelt bears the main guilt, for he not only "maneuvered" Japan into war in the Pacific, thus entering the European war through the "back door"; he had already "needled" Chamberlain into taking a firm stand against Hitler in Poland, thereby playing a key role in precipitating war in Europe. Had Hitler been permitted peacefully to have his way in Poland, he would have turned east, for he "would have preferred a conflict with Russia over the Ukraine" to war with England and France over Poland. But Roosevelt shares with another American president the responsibility for the world's present state. Had Woodrow Wilson not mistakenly intervened in World War I, that conflict "would have ended in a stalemate and a balance of power in Europe would have been created." Then Europe would have been spared "the bungling

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handiwork of 1919"—the Versailles treaty—whose iniquities laid the groundwork for the rise of Hitler and World War II.

The advocates for what-might-have-been always have the advantage that no one can disprove their claims. One can at least question, however, whether pursuit of the courses which Professor Tansill thinks right would have produced the beneficent results that he assumes. It seems quite as likely that without American intervention World War I would have ended not in a stalemate and a balance of power but in a complete German victory on the Continent, which would have made the Germany of Kaiser Wilhelm a very uncomfortable neighbor to live with. Nor does one find unalloyed satisfaction in contemplating a Hitlerian Germany dominant over all eastern Europe and the Russian "heartland" and allied with a Japan equally victorious in eastern Asia. Can one be sure that the position of the United States in such a world situation would be more secure than it is today?

Professor Tansill has produced a work of great learning, and readers who accept his premises—that the United States had nothing to fear from a victory of Hitler in Europe or of Japan in Asia—will agree with his conclusions. Many others will reject his premises and will feel that on specific points his evidence is inadequate and his reasoning faulty. He blames Roosevelt heavily for not following up a German offer, made by Göring through an unofficial intermediary in October, 1939, to accept Roosevelt's mediation in the war, with a promise that thereby "a new Polish State and a new Czechoslovakian independent government would come into being"; and he describes Hitler's speech of October 6 as "presenting to the world [a] sane and moderate program." But who could be expected to trust Hitler's "sane and moderate" assurances after the violation of his promises to Czechoslovakia? Those promises were, as Tansill himself remarks, "too transparent to be deceptive." Why make "war criminals" of statesmen who took a similar view of later Nazi promises to Roosevelt or to the democratic world?

As Tansill blames those in Europe who resisted Hitler, so he blames the Chinese for resisting Japan in eastern Asia and the United States for backing the Chinese. That Japanese dominance in that area was the only possible alternative to communist dominance may be plausible now. It was not apparent then; nor is it at all certain that Japan's expressions of alarm over the spread of communism were anything more than camouflage for her own policies of conquest. There is no reliable evidence that Japan was at any time ready to settle for anything less than a China completely subservient to her will. Yet Professor Tansill can write: "It seems quite possible that the Far Eastern Military Tribunal brought to trial the wrong persons. It might have been better if the tribunal had held its sessions in Washington" (p. 629). The episode that evokes this opinion is the failure of Roosevelt and Hull to follow up a proposal made through two Catholic clerics in which Japan was alleged to have offered "to recall all military forces from

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China and to restore China to its geographical and political integrity." This was in January, 1941. There were to be many months of negotiation before Pearl Harbor, and never did any duly accredited Japanese spokesman make a proposal resembling this one. Washington evidently detected the phony character of the "offer." Tansill is almost equally caustic in condemning Roosevelt's refusal to meet Premier Konoye in the fall of 1941. There is no intimation of the fact, so clearly demonstrated in S. E. Morison's *Rising Sun in the Pacific,* that Konoye was a prisoner of the militarists and had agreed to make no terms unacceptable to them.

That the Pacific was, in a sense, the "back door" to the war in Europe is true. That Roosevelt deliberately sought that door is quite a different proposition. To the reviewer a different thesis seems more tenable: namely, that adherence to traditional American policy in the Far East, in the face of Japan's determination to be master there, produced an impasse from which war was the only exit. Adherence to traditional policy may or may not have been wise; but in the end adhere we did. When war appeared inevitable, Secretary Stimson's query about "how we should maneuver them [the Japs] into the position of firing the first shot without allowing too much damage to ourselves"—an expression which Tansill and other critics have pilloried as war-mongering—was natural and proper enough. The Japs were in fact the aggressors—they had been so consistently since 1931—and public opinion should see them for what they were. The suggestion, cultivated with relish by Tansill and others, that Roosevelt and his advisers deliberately invited the surprise attack at Pearl Harbor seems hardly deserving of a serious hearing in court. That the United States was caught off guard at Pearl Harbor was the result of culpable blindness running all the way down from the White House to an obscure lieutenant on Oahu (with honorable exceptions in the middle brackets), but to argue that Roosevelt had the criminal stupidity knowingly and intentionally to leave the entire Pacific fleet open to an enemy attack which he foresaw is not compatible with the ascription by the same critics of Machiavellian cleverness to the war president in other matters. The common-sense explanation would appear to be that, though war was known to be imminent, all visible indications pointed clearly to its beginning in another theater. No one in a key position had the imagination to see that Japan might strike simultaneously at widely separated targets.

Finally, the fact that a scholar with Professor Tansill's well-known views on American foreign policy was allowed the free run of confidential State Department files should lay at rest the theory that there exists a favored group of "court historians" who speak only kind words of Rooseveltian diplomacy.

University of Buffalo JULIUS W. PRATT

MR. PRESIDENT: THE FIRST PUBLICATION FROM THE PERSONAL DIARIES, PRIVATE LETTERS, PAPERS AND REVEALING INTER-

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VIEWS OF HARRY S. TRUMAN, THIRTY-SECOND PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. By *William Hillman*. Pictures by *Alfred Wagg*. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Young. 1952. Pp. 253. $5.00.)

It is difficult to think of a parallel to this book. Presidents of the United States are prone to writing memoirs. Such diverse figures as Martin Van Buren and Theodore Roosevelt have done so. The latest example is Mr. Hoover. But all of these, like the others, wrote when out of office. More or less authorized apologias, in and out of office, are not unknown, like Mr. Dexter's *Herbert Hoover and American Individualism* or *The Hoover Administration* of Myers and Newton. The campaign biography we all know and, when this book was published, some keen critics thought that it was a new variant on that old genre. But *Mr. President* is *sui generis*.

Formally, the author is Mr. William Hillman, who was granted a series of interviews. But the real author is Mr. Truman, who said: "I want the people to know the Presidency as I have experienced it and I want them to know me as I am." "With characteristic candor and directness, the President spoke out as no President ever has while in office." With this judgment of Mr. Hillman's, the critical reader can easily agree. Mr. Truman, at the moment of writing is President of the United States but that has only to a small degree, if at all, cramped his style. One can guess, indeed, that there is much more that Mr. Truman could say, but one is inclined to suspect that these things are not said, not from any passion for discretion but because this is a short book. As it is, we learn a great deal and whatever we may think of the propriety of so public a performance, there can be no doubt of its interest.

Mr. Truman while he does not tell all, tells us something about nearly every aspect of his life and public career. His family, his war service, his business career, his political career, his seven years in the White House, his daughter's handling by a music critic, his handling of the critic, the etiquette of the White House, the political prophetical talents of Mr. Churchill, music, art, the injustice done by posterity to Uriah the Hittite, all are dealt with. Even if it only illustrated the views and personality of a President holding office at one of the two or three most critical periods of American history, this book would be of absorbing interest.

It is of more interest than the personal. For Mr. Truman does let the cat out of several bags. His account of his relations with Mr. Byrnes has already led to a brisk controversial exchange with his former Secretary of State. The slow appreciation of the nature of the Russian problem is illustrated. Mr. John L. Lewis is put in his place. The tensions of the Berlin air-lift are recorded. Here is richness.

But in addition to this olla-podrida of great things and small, the book does, in fact, live up to its title. For it is about the President who is not quite the same person as Harry S. Truman of Independence, Mo. It is about the

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presidency as much as about the President. Mr. Truman's predecessor often acted on the "l'état c'est moi" principle. Mr. Truman is quite as conscious of the greatness of his office, but he can separate himself from his office, from both its great problems and its protocol. And the presidency, under Mr. Truman, has acquired an existence separate from that of the President or of Mr. Truman.

In short, this very novel book justifies itself. It is not edited; it is hardly organized; it is repetitive. (Mr. Hillman candidly describes himself as a reporter.) Better editing would have made it a better book but we must take the goods the gods provide, hoping that Mr. Truman will get down to his memoirs and see that they are a better-organized job than this is. The newspaper that enlightened the President on the origins of "Hail to the Chief" is published in Dundee, not Perth (Scotland). There are many illustrations, many of them irrelevant, many in deplorable technicolor.

Cambridge University D. W. Brogan

THE LIFE OF SEBASTIAN LERDO DE TEJADA, 1823–1889: A STUDY OF INFLUENCE AND OBSCURITY. By *Frank Averill Knapp, Jr.* [University of Texas Institute of Latin-American Studies, Latin-American Studies, XII.] (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1951. Pp. ix, 292. $4.00.)

Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada was born on April 24, 1821, of Spanish parents in the provincial town of Jalapa. In 1836 he proceeded to Puebla where he began a distinguished scholastic career. Five years later he entered the National College of San Ildefonso in Mexico City. As early as 1845, when he received a bachelor's degree, he had evidently decided to become "a college professor as well as a lawyer." In that year he was chosen to serve as a substitute for the professor of Latin grammar at his alma mater. On October 14, 1851, he was admitted to the bar. Meantime he had become an assistant to the rector, Sr. José M. Guzmán. From 1852 to 1863 Sebastián Lerdo served as the rector of San Ildefonso. His experience in academic circles served as a preparation for his life as a publicist.

In 1851, when he was appointed *fiscal* of the supreme court, Sebastián stepped into the arena of national politics where Porfirio Díaz was a rising figure. In September, 1859, he was appointed Ignacio Comonfort's minister of foreign relations. At a time when congressmen were playing with responsible government, Sebastián Lerdo became a deputy. As the minister of relations and government, he thwarted an attempt of Napoleon Saborío to solve the impasse with France by insisting that a solution would have to be based upon the European intervention in Mexico. On March 28, 1865, Lerdo formulated the Republic's foreign policy. He instructed Minister Romero that any troops sent by Washington to Mexico would have to be accompanied by a guarantee that the United States would not threaten the stability of the Mexican regime or the integrity of its territory. With regard to the trial of the ill-fated Maximilian, Knapp reasons that Sebastián Lerdo,

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"the prime minister," was the decisive force behind the fateful decision of the Indian president, Benito Juárez. The document by which Lerdo's political designs may best be judged is his *convocatoría* of August 14, 1867. This electoral program is at the same time a critique of the constitution of 1857 and a guide to the centralistic political ideas of Sebastián. The flight of the fugitive Juárez government from 1863 to 1867 is carefully traced by Knapp.

Upon the death of Juárez, Lerdo became the chief executive. His role as the president of Mexico was largely a continuation of the rule of Juárez. The impasse between Mexico on the one hand, and France and England on the other hand, remained unbroken; for the Mexicans held that it was concerned with the honor, the dignity, and the rights of their nation. Struggles took place about the construction of railroads in Mexico in which the president tried to adopt a policy of Mexico for the Mexicans. He insisted upon the strict interpretation of the Laws of Reform. His desire to preserve the freedom of the press encouraged the spirit of rebellion and promoted his own downfall.

Knapp has made careful use of printed papers. His choice of words is not always felicitous. Chastened revision would have improved this study. The author's extensive research, however, will enable historical writers to modify their views on Mexican history after 1851.

University of Illinois WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON

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* * * Other Recent Publications * * *

General History

HISTORY AND HUMAN RELATIONS. By *Herbert Butterfield,* Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. (New York, Macmillan, 1952, pp. 254, $3.50.) In eight widely ranging and wise essays Professor Butterfield, editor of the *Cambridge Historical Journal,* discusses some of the problems and dilemmas of our profession. Urbanity, gentleness, intelligence shine through his meditations on such diverse topics as "The Christian and Historical Study" and "Marxist History." Whatever his topic, his zeal for the understanding which arises out of the search for truth burns bright. He sees the tragic element in modern international conflict to be the "situation of Hobbesian fear" in which "you yourself vividly feel the terrible fear that you have of the other part, but . . . cannot enter into the other man's counter-fear." He asks for Christian charity, "self-emptying out," in human relations and history as he takes to task the self-righteous. After viewing the fruitful results of the materialist interpretation of history, he shows the fallacy in attempting to trace historical change to any one cause and points to the danger in any preconceived, inflexible formula. As he analyzes "Moral Judgments in History," he wonders whether any individual is capable of rendering judgment on other sinners. In historical study he believes "nothing really matters except live human beings," and the primary duty is to increase human understanding through "expansion of sympathy." There is no key to history except through personalities which are irreducible things, and these call for "the constant exercise of Christian charity." To him the Christian attitude of belief in Providence is a basis for freedom: "The Christian need put no limits to the Creator's versatility." One great danger in history, he thinks, is the attempt to use it to buttress this or that contemporary opinion; there is wisdom to be gained from history but no lessons. One great benefit to be gained from history is the sweeping away of "bad history" of which much "exists in the world already." As he warns of the obvious dangers in "Official History," he points to the specific ways it has been used for political purposes. Finally, while he describes the best literary historians, Macaulay for example, as better technical historians than most of us would grant, he directs attention to their shortcomings, their failure to apply to their friends the same standards of criticism they apply to their enemies. So much of Professor Butterfield's thought hits at the heart of matters that concern us all, that it would be a pleasure to quote at length. The book will delight the palate of the connoisseur, and it will be healthy food for the self-satisfied graduate student. BOYD C. SHAFER, *University of Arkansas*

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ARTICLES, DESCRIPTIVE, HISTORICAL AND SCIENTIFIC, ON COLONIES AND OTHER DEPENDENT TERRITORIES, APPEARING IN AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL AND KINDRED JOURNALS. Volume I, THROUGH 1934. Volume II, 1935 THROUGH 1950. Compiled by *Lowell Ragatz* and *Janet Evans Ragatz.* (Washington, Educational Research Bureau; Ann Arbor, Edwards Brothers, 1951, pp. x, 214; viii, 149, $4.50.) The first volume is a reprint under the same title as Professor Ragatz' original compilation for the 1935 annual meeting of the Commission internationale d'histoire coloniale. Mrs. Ragatz has now carried the work on from 1935 to 1950 in a second volume. Those already familiar

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with Professor Ragatz' bibliographical work will look forward to the continuation of the series, which he prepared for the same body, of guides to American publications on the whole field of colonial history and overseas expansion. There is a real need for a manageable guide to the mass of material on colonial questions which has accumulated in American sociological, economic, and historical journals during the past fifteen years. Although the present compilation covers only a relatively small number of geographical and similar periodicals, it extends over a wide geographical range, including Russia's extra-European possessions, and brings together for the first time a considerable mass of fugitive material much of which would ordinarily escape attention. An introductory list of the periodicals covered would have been a useful addition, as would a rather more liberal use of cross-references. All the same, the reappearance of Professor Ragatz' work, and Mrs. Ragatz' extension of it, are to be welcomed.

W. K. Hancock, *University of London*

BORDERLANDS OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION: A HISTORY OF EAST CENTRAL EUROPE. By *Oscar Halecki,* Professor of Eastern European History, Fordham University. (New York, Ronald Press, 1952, pp. xvi, 503, $6.00.) Students of European history, who have become accustomed to the traditional division of the continent into western and eastern Europe, will find it difficult at first to comprehend Professor Halecki's use of the term "East Central Europe." But they will be grateful to him for coining the expression when they realize how appropriately and conveniently this term applies to the area lying between Germany and Russia and extending from Finland to Greece. The term was introduced by Professor Halecki only two years ago in his book *The Limits and Divisions of European History* (New York, 1950); the present volume will no doubt contribute greatly to its popular acceptance. Equally novel to some students of European history will be the idea that Western civilization does not stop at the eastern frontiers of Germany but extends to the states of East Central Europe. These are the true "borderlands of Western civilization," according to Professor Halecki. In support of his thesis he cites as evidence the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, the community of interest between East Central Europe and the West during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the effect of the Reformation, and the close diplomatic and trade relations which the states of this area have had with the West in modern times. Professor Halecki's greatest service, however, lies neither in devising new terminology nor in any new conception of the limits of Western civilization but rather in drawing the attention of American scholars to a vitally significant European area which has hitherto been almost completely neglected and therefore generally misunderstood. If today, for example, practically all of East Central Europe is behind the "iron curtain," it is due in part at least to United States unfamiliarity with Russia's earlier role in the history of this region. Russia's ambition, ever since the time of Peter the Great, has been to gain exclusive control of this territory and she has shared it with Germany only with great reluctance. The "impossibility of agreeing on a lasting division of East Central Europe," and not "ideological differences," writes Professor Halecki, was the main cause of the Hitler-Stalin rupture. Primarily a political history, Professor Halecki's book will serve as an excellent introduction to the study of East Central Europe. The reader will be amazed by the author's knowledge of detail, his skill at integration, and the depth of his interpretations; all of these give evidence of a lifetime of research and of first-hand acquaintance with the area. The book is well organized, it reads easily, and contains an extremely useful bibliography of works in English, French, and German.

Charles Morley, *Ohio State University*

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CASTELLIONIANA: QUATRE ETUDES SUR SÉBASTIEN CASTELLION ET L'IDÉE DE LA TOLÉRANCE. By *Roland H. Bainton, Bruno Becker, Marius Valkhoff,* and *Sape van der Woude.* (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1951, pp. vi, 111, 6.25 guilders.) This little book on Castellio, who holds an important place in the long struggle for religious toleration and freedom of conscience, has an appropriately international character. Printed in the Netherlands, it contains two essays in French, one in German, and one in English. The English essay is by Professor Roland H. Bainton of Yale, the leading authority in this country on Castellio. It is entitled "Sebastian Castellio, Champion of Religious Liberty," and contains a lucid account of Castellio's life and work. Professor Bainton discusses the prevailing attitude of the sixteenth century on the punishment of heretics and dwells particularly on Calvin's views. It was Calvin's act in executing Servetus in 1553 that called forth Castellio's *De Haereticis,* his most famous protest against intolerance. Professor Bainton, while praising Castellio, is always perfectly fair to Calvin, and this is no small achievement. The essay by Sape van der Woude, "Gestaltung der Toleranz," summarizes the development of the meaning of the word "tolerance" and the vicissitudes of the spirit of tolerance through the ages. His treatment of Castellio is relatively brief. He calls attention to intolerant tendencies in modern Catholicism and orthodox Protestantism and concludes with a plea for the revival of the spirit of tolerance as an indispensable principle in world reconstruction. Marius Valkhoff, in "Sébastien Castellion et l'idée de la tolérance au 16e siècle," disputes the widespread view that intolerance was a common error of the sixteenth century and cites Michel de l'Hôpital and Montaigne, along with Castellio, in support of his position. After summarizing Castellio's work, he compares the toleration of these three men. Bruno Becker's essay, "Un manuscript inédit de Castellion," discusses an unpublished work by Castellio which Becker discovered at Rotterdam in Latin and French versions. It is an answer to Theodore Beza's answer to the *De Haereticis,* and endeavors to prove that heretics may not rightfully be punished by the civil authorities. Becker has an interesting discussion (pp. 108–109) of the limits of Castellio's tolerance. Of these four essays, only Professor Bainton's was prepared specifically for this book. The rest were originally addresses to various groups, and there is some repetition. Nevertheless, all four of them are valuable and interesting. It is hard not to be stirred by the brave words of this sixteenth-century fighter for religious freedom, for example the following statement, quoted by two of the writers in this book: "To kill a man is not to defend a doctrine. It is to kill a man." WILLIAM GILBERT, *University of Kansas*

HET CALVINISME GEDURENDE ZIJN BLOEITIJD: ZIJN UITBREIDING EN CULTUURHISTORISCHE BETEKENIS. Deel II: SCHOTLAND, ENGELAND, NOORD-AMERIKA. By *A. A. Van Schelven.* (Amsterdam, W. Ten Have, 1951, pp. 423, Ing. f. 12,40, Geb. f. 14,90.) In the year 1942 Professor Van Schelven published a learned and highly illuminating volume dealing with the history of Calvinism during its period of greatest success in the city of Geneva and in France. His next volume was intended to treat the same subject in the Netherlands and Germany, but the author suddenly changed his mind, devoting his second part to the growth of Calvinism in Scotland, England, and North America. The next volume is to cover events in Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland, while the last will take the place of what was meant to have been the second part. Such an ambitious undertaking as this project must prove of particular interest to American historians, for the writer throws much welcome light upon the development of Puritanism and the Presbyterian churches. He is one of the few scholars qualified to speak with authority about this

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highly complicated and controversial subject. Calvinism is seldom correctly interpreted in the United States and Great Britain. But here we find a work that shows the profound insight the author has into the true character of orthodox Calvinism. A summary in the English language would prove helpful to many of our popular professors and pastors. The political and economic aspects of Calvinism are discussed with care and moderation. Copious footnotes may be found on almost every page, referring to both primary and secondary sources. Extremely rare are attempts to distort the exact truth for the sake of justifying or glorifying certain practices and doctrines upheld by the leading Calvinists. That this author is himself a staunch defender of the great Genevan reformer must be granted, and his publisher in Amsterdam is likewise of the Reformed persuasion. Nevertheless, the present volume frankly reveals many phases of Puritanism that do not merit eulogy. John Knox stands out as a stern and somewhat intolerant preacher in Scotland, the Presbyterian divines in England appear as champions of a narrow-minded theology, and the Congregationalists in New England are shown in their true colors. We are not surprised to learn that in 1643 the Presbyterians deprived some two thousand pastors of their positions (p. 220), but we also find that the Calvinists in New England made a great contribution to democratic principles. Particularly valuable is the appraisal of Calvin's economic theories. The author indicates how Max Weber's thesis is often misunderstood by unreasonable critics. He concludes correctly that Weber himself failed to analyze properly the economic aspects of orthodox Calvinism, while the great majority of his opponents err in other directions. His reference to Benjamin Franklin clearly reveals the weakness in Weber's arguments and the ignorance of those who still see in Calvinism an ally of nascent capitalism (pp. 276–81). Even more interesting is the manner in which the misleading conclusions of Professor T. J. Wertenbaker have been refuted. The English settlers had not come to America, so reasoned Wertenbaker, to seek religious liberty but to improve their economic condition. He quoted one leader as saying, "Our main end was to catch fish." True, such a statement was made, but the conclusions reached by many American historians in recent times are very disappointing (see pp. 361–73).

ALBERT HYMA, *University of Michigan*

VOYAGES OF ALVARO DE SAAVEDRA CERÓN, 1527–1529. By *Ione Stuessy Wright*. [University of Miami Hispanic-American Studies, No. 11.] (Coral Gables, Fla., University of Miami Press, 1951, pp. 127.) This is the story of the first crossing of the Pacific "made from American shores, in American-built ships, manned by crews recruited in the New World." The Saavedra expedition grew out of the larger story of Spanish-Portuguese competition for the Spice Island trade. For Spain, the Cape Horn route to the Indies, opened by Magellan and Loaysa, was costly. And the hoped-for strait through continental America had not been discovered. Emperor Charles, therefore, directed Hernán Cortés to organize the search for a new trans-Pacific route to the Moluccas, using New Spain as a base of operations. The resulting Saavedra voyages did, indeed, reach their goal in the East Indies, but then failed in the effort to return to America. Despite the disappointing immediate and practical results of the expedition, Saavedra had contributed knowledge and experience toward the establishment of the eventual route of the Manilla Galleon. In any case, as the author points out, the story of adventure, courage, and devotion is worth telling.

JAMES S. CUNNINGHAM, *Washington, D.C.*

WEST AFRICAN EXPLORERS. Selections Chosen and Edited by *C. Howard*. With an Introduction by *J. H. Plumb*. [World's Classics, No. 523.] (New York, Oxford

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University Press, 1951, pp. ix, 598, $2.00.) A natural outgrowth of the new interest in contemporary Africa has been a revival of interest in the colorful and once popular narratives of the explorers who first penetrated the continent's forbidding interior. *West African Explorers* is a well-arranged compilation of selections from sixteen travel books beginning with Richard Jobson's account of "the golden trade" and the people he saw on the Gambia River in 1620, and ending with Mary Kingsley's observations on her journey up the Ogowé River in 1893. Although these explorers knew little about African customs and institutions, their narratives are full of human interest, and some of their observations show considerable detachment and insight. An important part of the book is built around the story of efforts to solve the mystery of the Niger River. Did it flow west to the Atlantic, east to the Nile, or evaporate in a vast lake in Central Africa? C. Howard, in choosing and editing the selections, has included extensive excerpts from the celebrated Niger explorers, Mungo Park and Richard Lander. A valuable and readable introductory essay by J. H. Plumb summarizes the history of these three centuries of exploration. However, Plumb's analysis of the motives behind the exploration movement contains certain generalizations with which readers may disagree. VERNON MCKAY, *Washington, D.C.*

THE PEACE OF PARIS, 1763. By *Zenab Esmat Rashed,* Lecturer in Modern History, Ibrahim Pasha University, Cairo. With a Foreword by Mark A. Thomson, Professor of Modern History, University of Liverpool. (Liverpool, University Press, 1951, pp. xi, 270, 15*s*.) The enlargement of aims and objectives which has so often marked the course of great wars has been a cause of prolonging their duration. A good example is to be found in the Seven Years' War. The original dispute between France and Great Britain over territory in North America was decided by the British conquest of Canada in 1759–60, yet hostilities continued for more than two years longer. The British appetite for conquests grew with what it fed on, and the amazing series of British victories delayed the making of peace. In the midst of the war Josiah Tucker, celebrated pamphleteer and publicist in his own day and no mean observer of current phenomena and trends, said that he looked upon the British people as "frantic with military glory and therefore no more to be argued with than a person in a raving fit of a high fever." The making of the treaty which ended the Seven Years' War and the negotiations that preceded it have not, of course, escaped the attention of historians, but the story as a whole has not hitherto been told in detail by any of them—British, French, or Spanish. It remained for an Egyptian graduate student at the University of Liverpool to undertake this difficult and complicated enterprise. Dr. Rashed's original purpose was to elucidate the most neglected stage of the negotiations, those carried on in 1762 through the Sardinian envoys in London and Paris, but she found it necessary to go back to the earlier attempts to reach a settlement. By "The Peace of Paris" she means "that long drawn-out diplomatic struggle which agitated the different countries of Europe and in particular England, France and Spain from the end of 1759 until February, 1763, when the definitive treaty was signed and put an end to the war between England, France, Spain and Portugal." An introductory chapter on war aims is followed by a study of negotiations through 1761, and this in turn by a careful examination of those of 1762. The volume closes with a brief chapter on the definitive treaty and a conclusion. Two important documents are printed in appendixes—the French text of the definitive treaty and the little-known instructions (in Spanish) to the marquis de Grimaldi, Charles III's ambassador to France. The latter are important for the light they throw on Spanish policy on the eve of the formation of the Family Compact of 1761. Among the sub-

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jects on which Dr. Rashed's opinions will probably have influence are the responsibility for the prolongation of the war, the policy of Spain, and the motives underlying the Family Compact. The author is not pro-British, pro-French, or pro-Spanish—which is as it should be. Her work could have been improved considerably from the standpoint of literary presentation, but it is a creditable historical contribution. In the foreword Professor Mark Thomson, under whose guidance Dr. Rashed's work was carried on at Liverpool, says correctly that she has shed new light on many points.

ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER, *Columbia University*

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Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton[1]

LATER DYNASTIES OF EGYPT. By Lieut.-Colonel *P. G. Elgood,* C.M.G. (Oxford, Basil Blackwell; New York, Macmillan, 1951, pp. vii, 154, $3.00.) This work is not a scholarly book but an attempt by the late author to "interest the general reader in the ruling personalities in Egypt during a period when the fate of that country was as intertwined with that of its neighbouring states as it is in modern days." The volume

[1] Responsible only for the list of articles.

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begins with the Twentieth Dynasty and closes with the conquest by Alexander the Great. While this thousand-year period cannot be adequately treated within the limitations of 150 pages, Colonel Elgood has performed a useful service, for he has utilized a considerable number of recent books and articles—he makes no pretense of controlling the original sources—in order to weave together an up-to-date account in English of the declining centuries of Egyptian history. In accordance with his expressed purpose, the author's emphasis is on the personalities of the pharaohs, each of whom is named and listed with the others of his dynasty and placed much too precisely in time, considering the admittedly tentative character of the chronology. We know next to nothing about most of these Egyptain kings, and it seems to the reviewer that Elgood's characterizations of some of them are scarcely justified by the meager and often unreliable accounts upon which he has to depend. But he also goes astray where the facts are not so rare; his treatment of Ramses III surely does less than justice to "one of the most illustrious Pharaohs." It is astonishing to find in his account of the tomb robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty at least the implication of an uncritical acceptance of the famous but fictional curse allegedly designed to protect the ancient tombs. While the author presents at the end of the book a good but "selective" bibliography of the historical literature, it is obvious that he leans rather too heavily on the classical sources. This is quite understandable, in view of the paucity of native records and of the fact that some of the classical writers could have had first-hand knowledge of certain of the events related. Biased and unreliable classical sources must nevertheless be constantly checked against the equally biased and unreliable Egyptian records if even a modicum of truth is to be gained. A better use of the available literature should have enabled Elgood to avoid making "Tanis . . . the most commodious and safest anchorage in the Eastern Mediterranean" (p. 29) or placing Semnah "midway between the second and third cataract" (p. 51), to mention but two of the numerous errors in the volume. The serious student of ancient Egypt will find Elgood's book readable and interesting but not an authority to be confidently quoted. The stimulus to further reading which it will undoubtedly supply can best be followed up in Drioton-Vandier, *L'Egypte* (3d ed., Paris, 1952), which is now by far the best history of Egypt, with complete and strictly up-to-date bibliographies as well as detailed discussions of our state of knowledge of all periods of Egyptian history.

KEITH C. SEELE, *University of Chicago*

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Modern European History

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

Leland H. Carlson[1]

A BREVIATE OF PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1917–1939. By *P. Ford*, Professor of Economics, and *G. Ford*, University College, Southampton. (Oxford, Basil Blackwell; New York, Macmillan, 1951, pp. xlviii, 571, $8.50.) Like Hansard, who a century ago issued a *Catalogue and Breviate of Parliamentary Papers* "so that the enquirer will have before his eye the whole of any subject that has been treated on," the Fords have sought to aid the researcher to make his way through the mass of modern materials. Of the ten thousand parliamentary documents for 1917–1939 this guide gives perspective over the twelve hundred that deal with industrial and social

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problems. The task presented considerable difficulties. Until 1921 the Parliamentary Papers included nearly all documents important for the making of policy, but since that date a class of nonparliamentary papers has been issued by departments that were really important in policy-making and in the earlier period would normally have been in the regular command series. The investigator is confronted by two sets of papers and catalogues. In this volume, however, both have been drawn upon to provide the more complete direction. In order to show the evolution of policy the documents have been arranged chronologically within the subject. For each report there is given the date of appointment of the committee, the signatories, the extent, and a summary of the argument. Where differences of view appeared or minority reports were submitted, these have been given, too. From it all one gains the impression of the rapid expansion of state activity. Everywhere the recommendation is for government intervention. Not only is it a case of "There ought to be a law," but the state is expected to do something, and it has usually obliged. Once Beatrice Webb rather pessimistically said that it required thirty years for a reform to travel from royal commission to statute book. While this can still be true, as in the case of the nationalization of the coal industry, these documents emphasize the speed with which the implementation has often been effected.

CARL F. BRAND, *Stanford University*

ROYAL MAIL: THE STORY OF THE POSTS IN ENGLAND FROM THE TIME OF EDWARD IV TO THE PRESENT DAY. By *F. George Kay,* Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts. (New York, Macmillan, 1951, pp. ix, 198, $4.50.) The first four chapters of this volume furnish a connected account of the British postal "story" to the Act of 1711. Witherings, who reorganized the postal routes in the 1630's, is given too much acclaim, for his control lasted only two years. The map of his routes (p. 23) seems too detailed for his time, and is contradicted (p. 36) when the author brings places like Sheffield, Derby, Lincoln, and Coventry into the postal network half a century later. With the end of the fourth chapter an orderly history of the Post Office is succeeded by an account that is scrappy, largely the story of current practices with some reference to the background. Men like Allen, Palmer, and Heaton are slighted, though they deserve as much attention at least as Witherings. Dockwra, the creator of the penny post of 1680, is made to migrate to New Jersey (p.38) where he became a "guiding force" in the "efficient New Jersey Postal service." Dockwra owned land in New Jersey at one time, but lived and died in London. The author seems to confuse stage coaches with mail coaches (p.55). Rowland Hill receives full attention, but there is evidence in plenty to belie the statement that he never hesitated to acknowledge help in his reforms (p.106). The Cunard ship was the *Acadia,* not the *Arcadia* (p.101). The "milestones in Postal History" (pp. 180–84) include some inaccurate guides along the postal highway. The year 1598 was not of particular importance for settling the main postal routes. The Admiralty did not "take over the organisation" of the mail packets in 1837; it took over the "operation" of the remaining oversea packets in that year. The important Falmouth services were under the Admiralty from 1823. The first Post Office telephone exchange was not in London in 1902 but in Swansea in 1881. Important "milestones" that are missing include the transfer of the National Telephone Company, the beginning of the imperial penny post, the use of the all-up imperial airmail. The list of postmasters general also needs correction. Arlington, who held the office for life (p. 33), died in 1685. The earl of Rochester's term, therefore, began in that year. The earl of Carysfoot should be the earl of Carysford. The volume is the work of an amateur

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in the field of postal history. The account of recent practices is presented interestingly but is badly balanced. Why should twelve pages, for instance, be given to the tracing of offenders by the Investigation Branch and only four pages to airmail? The book has an interesting collection of illustrations, especially the delightful endpaper reproduction of St. Martin's in the days of the mail coaches, but its value as history is slight. HOWARD ROBINSON, *Oberlin College*

JOHN ROBERT GODLEY OF CANTERBURY (NEW ZEALAND). By *C. E. Carrington,* Christ Church, Oxford. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1950, pp. xv, 251, $5.25.) John Robert Godley was an able and zealous colonial reformer who as the founder of the Canterbury province of New Zealand erected for himself an enduring monument. Although he spent barely three years, 1849–1852, in that settlement he rendered it such great services it is quite proper and fitting to attach its name to his in the title of this book. Godley's activities were restricted because of poor health, and he died at the age of forty-seven. Still, John Robert Godley exerted much influence upon British imperial administration and imperial policies. An ardent promoter of emigration, colonization, and colonial self-government, he had faith in the future of the new Englands beyond the sea of which his own creation, Canterbury, was among the most successful. He was inspired by—and for a while worked with—E. G. Wakefield, but soon found that he had to break with that egocentric and arrogant promoter. More benefit and lasting results were achieved through Godley's association with Lord Lyttelton, W. E. Gladstone, and Sir Charles Adderley. Godley's *Letters from America* (London, 1844) contain valuable information and interesting observations on life in Canada and the United States in the early 1840's. As a leader writer for the *Morning Chronicle* Godley influenced British opinion on the colonies. And as assistant undersecretary in the war office he helped to promote the policy that the self-governing colonies should assume responsibility for their local defense. Mr. Carrington has had access to several collections of private papers hitherto little used or not used at all by historians. He throws new light on a period of British imperial history in which much basic research needs to be done, and he helps to correct prevalent misconceptions concerning such topics as colonial defense and the attitude of leading British statesmen toward the colonies. To the author the writing of this book was a labor of love by one born in New Zealand and anxious to have the centennial of the founding of Canterbury properly celebrated. Had he not been so much in a hurry, he might have used Godley's editorials in the *Morning Chronicle,* and material concerning Godley in the Gladstone papers and at the Public Record Office more exhaustively. Still, Mr. Carrington has written a good book which will be found useful by all students of British Empire history.
PAUL KNAPLUND, *University of Wisconsin*

ARCHIVES YEAR BOOK FOR SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY. 14th Year (1951), Volume II. Edited by *Coenraad Beyers, et al.* (Cape Town, Cape Times for Government Printer, 1951, pp. 454.) A happy broadening of the definition of "archival" has resulted since 1938 in the publication by the Union archives of excellent monographic material which has been archival only in being based largely upon such material. The two volumes for 1951 continue the tradition, with the second composed of four very good monographs. (Volume I [T. S. von Rooyen, *Die Verhoudinge tussen die Boere, Engelse en Naturelle in die Geskiedenis van die Oos-Transvaal tot 1882*] is not included in this review.) Professor Michael Roberts of Rhodes University contributes a *tour de force* of historical method in his "Lord Charles Somerset and the 'Beaufort

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Influence.'" The supposed influence protecting Lord Charles is analyzed and swept away. The M.A. thesis of Mr. Melt van Niekerk of the University of Pretoria, "Adolf Schiel en die Duitse Kommando," looks in detail at one of the "foreign legions" enlisted on the Boer side in the South African War, 1899–1902. Left unanswered is the tantalizing question as to the reaction of Whitehall and the Wilhelmstrasse to its activities. The study has merit in showing the "international" elements in the Boer forces. Professor Lindsay Young of the University of Natal in "The Native Policy of Benjamin Pine in Natal, 1880–1885" describes the inevitable conflict between vigorous colonial administrators with hazy divisions of authority as here personified by Lieutenant Governor Pine and the redoubtable Theophilus Shepstone. How religion, politics, and water can mix is told by P. J. Rossouw in his M.A. thesis at the University of Stellenbosch, "Die Arbeidskolonie Kakamas." This Cape Colony sociological experiment under the direction of the Dutch Reformed Church is carefully recounted, although omitted are some criticisms of its theocratic-paternalistic aspects. The Union archives directorate can again congratulate itself on the selection of these monographs, whose value in three instances is increased by including bibliographies and workable indexes. COLIN RHYS LOVELL, *University of Southern California*

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FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop[1]

RÉPERTOIRE DE L'HISTOIRE DE LA RÉVOLUTION FRANÇAISE (TRAVAUX PUBLIÉS DE 1800 A 1940). Volume II, LIEUX. By *Gérard Walter.* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1951, pp. 614.) Any attempt to review this *Répertoire* must take into consideration something of the recent history of bibliographical work on the French Revolution. For many years the nearest approximation to a guide to the study of the period was Pierre Caron's *Manuel pratique* (1912); but, even in its revised edition (1947) this masterful work is more an introduction to primary sources than a general bibliography. Students of the Revolution will have to await its supplementary *Bibliographie* before they are provided with a "last word" within the limits of one volume. During the interval between Caron's editions, the Bibliothèque Nationale began publication (1936) of a five-volume *Catalogue de l'histoire de la Révolution française,* edited by André Martin and Gérard Walter. Four volumes have appeared, containing the works written between 1789 and 1799 and available in the Bibliothèque. In 1941, M. Walter began the present *Répertoire* as a continuation of the *Catalogue,* for works published between 1800 and 1940. The first volume presented titles concerning persons; the third will cover topics (*matières*); the present one (Vol.II) deals with places. The book contains perhaps 10,000 titles, classified in an alphabetical listing of places—departments, provinces, cantons, cities, monas-

[1] Responsible only for the list of articles.

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teries, etc. Each place-name is accompanied by a brief topographical description, and, where necessary, both pre-Revolutionary and Revolutionary status, name, etc., are indicated. Each title is preceded by the date of its publication, and if more than one work is cited for a place, the listing is chronological in order of publication. The shelf-number in the Bibliothèque follows each citation, and where only a portion of a work is pertinent, page references are given. Articles from scholarly periodicals, as well as titles of books, are included. When necessary, the titles are classified as "general" and "special"; and a summary of the table of contents and the conclusions accompanies citations of definitive works. The volume is rounded out by a page of "additions and corrections" and a table of abbreviations used for titles of periodicals. Only one who has followed the arduous path of the bibliographer can appreciate the care, effort, patience, and optimism required for the making of such a book. When the *Répertoire* and the *Catalogue* are completed, even though limited to holdings of the Bibliothèque Nationale, they will constitute an essential tool for any worker in the field. One will need all of them, however, and it is a pity that they are so costly.

JOHN HALL STEWART, *Western Reserve University*

A new review, *Questions d'histoire,* published under Communist auspices, has appeared in Paris. Significant articles from the first issue are listed below.

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Oscar J. Falnes

DEN DANSKE KIRKES HISTORIE. Edited by *Hal Koch* and *Bjørn Kornerup*. Volume I, DEN ÆLDRE MIDDELALDER INDTIL 1241. By *Hal Koch*. (Copenhagen, 1950, pp. 419.) This new history of the church in Denmark will be published in eight volumes and will bring the story down to World War Two. Volume I, the first to appear, suggests that the treatment will endeavor to keep a balance in the discussion between material and spiritual factors. The organization seems planned on a scale to permit recurrent analysis of the Danish social order as background; this suggests that the work should prove useful to scholars in fields beyond the specialty of church history. O. J. F.

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner

LES PRINCES DU ST-EMPIRE A L'EPOQUE NAPOLÉONIENNE. By Prince *Jean-Engelbert d'Arenberg.* (Louvain, Publications Universitaires de Louvain, 1951, pp. xii, 250.) This study, first written in English as a master's thesis at Georgetown University, is designed to explain the historical and juridical position of the German princes from the last days of the Reich to the first of the *Deutscher Bund.* The purpose is satisfactorily achieved. Very little new information is contributed, but any study that helps to clarify the monstrous complexities of German society in these turbulent times is always welcome. In this connection, the study has two merits. First, it provides a great amount of precise detail concerning many individual

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princely houses. Much of this data is of mere genealogical interest and some of it is based on materials available elsewhere, but it is convenient to have so much assembled in one place. Second, the study manages to keep the problems of the princes in the foreground and is especially successful in describing the mechanics of that continuing process of mediatization which ended the sovereignty of some nine tenths of the German princes. Heretofore one could indeed find much material on this subject in the standard works on the Napoleonic period or in the collections of published documents on the *Rheinbund* and the Congress of Vienna, but there was always the task of disentangling the topic from the larger and more dramatic events of the day. In this study *Geistesgeschichte,* the Prussian reform movement, and the Wars of Liberation are barely mentioned, except where necessary. Yet a book based wholly on long-available official documents and standard secondary works has to present a vigorous interpretation if it is to justify itself. On this score Prince d'Arenberg's book barely makes the grade. The early chapters are good. The first gives with precision an excellent summary of the position of the princes under the old Reich. The second makes clear the importance of the *Reichsdeputations-Hauptschluss* of 1803 as a sort of intermediate stage in the disintegration of the empire. Unfortunately this promising beginning is not sustained. The chapters on the *Rheinbund* are mere digests of just two or three general works. Much better is the treatment of the problem during the Congress of Vienna, but it is too brief and, for a concluding chapter, does not range past 1815 as it might profitably have done. Throughout, the author includes too many ill-digested details and irrelevant data and has more faith than is warranted in the accuracy of early nineteenth-century statistical compilations. The many fine tables of information would have been even more valuable had they been supplemented by a good, detailed map. For a book that rests so heavily on secondary works, the omission of Meinecke and Sorel on Germany under Napoleon and of W. A. Schmidt on the German constitutional question at the Vienna Congress is quite surprising. These defects, serious as they may be, do not, however, prevent the reader from seeing the problem of the princes as a continuing and persistent factor in a period that institutionally was in constant flux. For a master's thesis this is saying a great deal. ENNO E. KRAEHE, *University of Kentucky*

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro[1]

CENNI STORICI DI LA RIVOLUZIONI SICILIANA, L'ANNU 1848. By *Carlo Gemmellaro*. Edited by *Carmelina Naselli*. [Archivio storico per la Sicilia Orientale, a. 1948, fasc. III.] (Catania, Società di storia patria, 1951, pp. xxiii, 89.) Carlo Gemmellaro (1787–1866), something of an eighteenth-century encyclopedist, at various times a geologist, a physician, litterateur, and university professor, left this contemporary account of the developments in Sicily from the outbreak of the revolution in January, 1848, to the election of Albert Amadeus as king of Sicily in July, 1848. An ardent Sicilian nationalist (later converted to the cause of united Italy), Gemmellaro introduced his record of events with a short essay on the rights of small peoples with the same national characteristics to nation status. With all of the hatred of a Sicilian for the cruel, corrupt, and evil Neapolitan administration of the island, the author, with all of the passion at his command, detailed the causes of the revolution and the day-by-day political and military action after the fighting started. As a contemporary report of events it is certainly not without value but objectivity is hardly to be expected. Written in the Sicilian dialect, it offers something of a reading problem. However, the editor has appended an adequate key to the dialect and with a knowledge of Italian it can be read successfully. Appended also are a series of extracts from contemporary newspapers, minutes of the parliament, some correspondence, and other minutiae collected by Gemmellaro.

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IL PROBLEMA DELLA SICILLA NEL 1848 ATTRAVERSO NUOVE FONTI INEDITE: INDIPENDENZA E AUTONOMIA NEL GIUOCO DELLA POLITICA INTERNAZIONALE. [Collana di studi storici di "Documentario."] (Palermo, A. Priulla, 1951, pp. xix, 518, L. 1,500.) The centennial of the Italian revolutions of 1848 has been commemorated by Italian historians with an intensified re-examination of the dramatic period with all of the objectivity that the lapse of a century can provide. This study is a case in point. For a century historians have been dependent in the main on the British documents (Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of Italy) for data on the role of revolutionary Sicily on the diplomatic chessboard. This volume brings to light the pertinent documents of the Quay d'Orsay, the Palais Soubisse, and the Bibliothèque Nationale on the subject and, with them, a re-evaluation of the roles of Great Britain and France in the Sicilian revolution. Readily apparent is the weakness of the French foreign office, primarily for obvious internal reasons, in playing the decisive role in the developments on the island. French policy for the eighteen-month period January, 1848–June, 1849, reflects the disinterestedness of Guizot, the confusion of Bastide, and the ineffectiveness of Drouyn de Lhuys at a time when their representatives in Naples and on the island were struggling mightily to overcome the dominant position of British agents in Sicilian affairs. Falzone builds a convincing case to show that Britain's interest in controlling an "independent" Sicily or an autonomous Sicily as another Portugal for very sound political and geographical reasons constantly superseded Palmerstonian "pious wishes" for a free and independent Italy. Interest constantly colored as well the role of Lord Minto in Italy and the Baudin-Parker attempts at mediation in the Sicilian question. After the fall of Messina to the Bourbon army, Britain quickly made her peace with King Ferdinand in order to regain her favored position in Neapolitan affairs—all of this after

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having promised the Sicilians "never to abandon them or their cause." And the myth of British support contributed immeasurably to Sicilian intransigence to compromise. According to Falzone, the British role in Sicily was correctly diagnosed by M. Creptovich, the Russian minister to Naples, who offered to press for an independent Sicily under French influence in order to offset British preponderance in the Mediterranean. This and other opportunities were lost by the powerless French foreign office despite the efforts of Admiral Baudin, Rayneval, and others on the scene. Out of the Sicilian disaster Britain's favored position was reaffirmed and the French opportunity to play the dominant role in the central Mediterranean was irretrievably lost. The volume contains detailed notes and citations, ninety-six significant documents from the files of the French foreign office published *in toto,* and is adequately indexed. This study is a valuable contribution to the history of the Italian Risorgimento. GEORGE A. CARBONE, *University of Mississippi*

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RUSSIA AND SLAVIC EUROPE

Sergius Yakobson[1]

UNDERGROUND: THE STORY OF A PEOPLE. By *Joseph Tenenbaum.* (New York, Philosophical Library, 1952, pp. ix, 532, $4.50.) Much of this book was published in 1948 as *In Search of a Lost People: The Old and the New Poland,* based on the Nuremberg trial documents and many Yiddish and Polish materials. It has been revised and expanded using additional sources newly discovered, such as the Ringelblum Archives. There are few footnotes, though the sources are often mentioned in the text, and there is a selected bibliography. According to the author's preface, "it is not evil alone, but the source of evil that baffles and confounds. . . . history offers no parallel on the subject of scientific mass murder." It is almost impossible to rise to the heights of understanding and literary power needed to make real the unbelievable Valley of the Shadow into which Hitler marched eastern European Jewry, though John Hersey in *The Wall* manages to convey something of the impact that a book of this sort cannot give. Of the horrors attending the fate of the Jews of Warsaw, Lodz, Czestochowa, Lublin, and Bialystok under Nazi occupation, the inmates of the extermination camps (especially Oswiecim), the Jews of Lemberg, Wilno, and the western part of the USSR after Hitler's invasion began—each appears here in capsule form, making it difficult for the reader to assimilate what happened in each case, let alone to take in the grim picture of the over-all destruction of Jewish culture in Poland. The pattern was similar enough in many localities: first, concentration of the Jews into ghettos and the building up of a local control machine; then piecemeal deportation by coaxing, threat, and force, often leading to the counterforce of sheer despair; final liquidation of the ghettos and disposal of the deported in the extermination camps. Tenenbaum is mainly concerned with the fate of the victims, with the "evil" rather than "the source of evil." Among the victims he searches for heroes, such as the boy Anielewicz who led the Warsaw ghetto uprising, though he does not fail to mention those who fell short of heroism. One can comprehend heroes, as well as the not-so-heroic; what escapes comprehension is the state of mind, for example, of the Lodz child who reassured her mother, who was being taken by the Nazis to be shot: "Mamma, don't worry, it does not hurt; it is quick." This poor woman was, after all, only one of six million such casualties. The book includes two chapters surveying the history of the Jews in Poland and the story of each locality begins with a sketch of Jewish culture there; at the end there is a report of the author's visit to postwar Poland. To the literature of Nazi genocide is added not a masterpiece of scholarship or eloquence, but nonetheless a most valuable document.

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Near Eastern History

Sidney Glazer

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS IN THE NEAR EAST MADE DURING THE XIX CENTURY: BEING A PART OF A LARGER CATALOGUE OF WORKS ON GEOGRAPHY, CARTOGRAPHY, VOYAGES AND TRAVELS, IN THE GENNADIUS LIBRARY IN ATHENS. Compiled and Provided with a Preface and Index by *Shirley Howard Weber*. [Catalogues of the Gennadius Library, I.] (Princeton, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1952, pp. x, 252, $5.00.) The Gennadius Library of some 55,000 volumes is highly specialized in its concern with books and other materials relating to Greece and the Near East from earliest times to the present. Even though works on Greek grammar, archaeology, history, and literature are predominant, students of the Islamic world would find in it much to interest them, notably the fairly extensive collection of works on Turkish history and travels in the Near East. Only a portion of the library is now formally catalogued, i.e., writings of travelers to the Near East, which are arranged chronologically

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by date of publication. The inherent weakness of this system is largely compensated for by a detailed general index of names and places and an index of travelers and authors. Most of the entries are followed by notes listing the places visited. Accordingly, this beautifully printed catalogue will serve a useful purpose, within limitations, as a topographical listing for cities and towns touched at during the nineteenth century. Constantinople, Athens, Alexandria, Beirut, Cairo, Corfu, Damascus, Jerusalem, and Izmir seem to have been the most popular, in this order, judging by the number of references in the 1206 titles (109 of which are largely pictorial) included.

S. G.

THE NEAR EAST AND THE GREAT POWERS. Edited by *Richard N. Frye*. With an Introduction by *Ralph Bunche*. (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1951, pp. viii, 214, $3.50.) An able group of scholars, businessmen, diplomats, and government officials assembled at Harvard University for three days in August, 1950, to listen to and discuss papers dealing with the Near East (chiefly the Arab states and Israel), with the implicit aim of seeking means of fortifying the area against the penetration of communist ideology. This conference gave added impetus to the growing trend in the United States of bringing together academicians and "practical" men to ponder the basic problems of our times. *The Near East and the Great Powers* represents the polished and somewhat enlarged fruits of their efforts. However, the layman, at least, is likely to be disappointed because the group asked far more questions than it answered. The reason is partly that the diffuse and not completely integrated agenda made it impossible to discuss any one subject thoroughly within the allotted time and partly that in the present state of knowledge undoubtedly no answers to some very important questions exist. The collected papers printed in this book constitute a significant contribution to our understanding of the Near East. Almost all of them are interesting in style and content, and a few are extremely valuable: Mortimer Graves's "Cultural Relations Policy in the Near East," full of common sense and concrete suggestions; Harvey P. Hall's "The Pattern of Great Power Impact on the Near East," a brilliant analysis of the way England, France, America, and the Soviet Union have sought, albeit unconsciously, to impress a salient element of their civilization on the area—political institutions, love of culture, material comforts, and social revolution, respectively; Majid Khadduri's "The Scheme of Fertile Crescent Unity: A Study in Inter-Arab Relations," a clear account of the various proposals to bring Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Iraq into some form of federation; and George G. McGhee's "Economic Development of the Near East," a hard-headed account of the obstacles and some practicable solutions. The introductory remarks and papers of Dr. Ralph Bunche and Professor H. A. R. Gibb help to unify the material.

S. G.

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Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard[1]

THE UNITED STATES AND THE FAR EAST, 1945–1951. By *Harold M. Vinacke*, Professor of Political Science, University of Cincinnati. [American Institute of Pacific Relations.] (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1951, pp. vi, 144, $3.00.) Professor Vinacke has performed a *tour de force* in compressing the history of American policy in China, Japan, and Korea into such brief compass and at the same time emphasizing the principal trends. The result is a very clear and impartial presentation of the shifts and changes, and of the influences domestic and foreign which brought them about. There is a notable absence of partisanship in so controversial a subject, and the book is highly to be recommended as a reliable guide to how the present unsatisfactory situation came about. The author believes that the fall of Chiang Kai-shek's government was inevitable given the character of the regime and its blunders, the strength of the Communist opposition and the surreptitious aid it received in Manchuria from Russia, and the failure of the American government to appreciate until too late the true character of the Chinese Communists. Professor Vinacke considers that the only thing which might have saved the National Government was the active participation of American forces in the Chinese civil war.

Lennox A. Mills, *University of Minnesota*

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United States History

Wood Gray[1]

GENERAL

A SHORT CHRONOLOGY OF AMERICAN HISTORY, 1492–1950. By *Irving S. Kull* and *Nell M. Kull.* (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1952, pp. 388, $6.50.) On the paper jacket of this volume is the statement: "With this book in your hands, you hold the essence of America's past." If one accepts the dates and the brief comments on the 10,000 events which the authors have selected as "the basic facts of American social, economic and political history," then none can argue with the authors. This reviewer is in general agreement with selections made by the authors, for one finds here just about every important event (some not so important) in the history of the United States. Obviously, there will be those who question the significance of some of the events included. Was the appointment of a professor of modern languages at William and Mary one of the twenty-four most important events in 1780? Was Yale's decision in 1931 to drop Latin as a requirement for the B.A. degree of sufficient historical importance to be included with the other thirty-three major events of that year? Was Italy's withdrawal from the League of Nations (1938) of sufficient importance to be included in a chronology of American history? The authors believe they were; and they may be right. Is Paul Buck's Pulitzer prize winner, *Road to Reunion* (1937), any more important than some two dozen other books on American history that have won the same prize? While some may quibble over the choice of events, none can deny the usefulness of this volume, for it will be the one volume that historians, librarians, and editors will pick up more than any other. The events are well indexed, which makes it more usable. The authors have still more in store for us, for they promise to do another volume in which they will include events that have occurred in, "the large field of cultural and intellectual history." To this reviewer that will be an answer to prayer, provided they include the major scientific and technological events in our nation's history.

JOHN W. OLIVER, *University of Pittsburgh*

STORM OVER SAVANNAH: THE STORY OF COUNT D'ESTAING AND THE SIEGE OF THE TOWN IN 1779. By *Alexander A. Lawrence.* (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1951, pp. x, 220, $3.50.) A consistent reader of this *Review* might be forgiven for believing that all the hidden nooks and crannies of American

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Revolutionary history have been fully explored. This volume is evidence that at least one important aspect of the War for American Independence has been previously neglected. One reason for this neglect may be that the siege of Savannah was a stinging defeat for the Americans and the French. However that may be, the failure of the bloody Franco-American attack upon that city in October, 1779, brought in its train three years of civil war in Georgia and the Carolinas and encouraged the British ministry to prolong the war for a considerable period. A thorough study of the amphibious allied campaign against Savannah has been needed, even though the study of military campaigns has gone out of style among many historians. An accurate account of the ill-fated expedition led by the comte d'Estaing could be written only with the aid of French official archives located in Paris. Those archives have been open to investigators for more than half a century yet have remained basically untouched with respect to the Savannah debacle. Mr. Lawrence has now used these archives to reconstruct in meticulous detail the gripping story of French and American misfortunes in Georgia and off her coast. His narration helps to explain also why it was that the reputation of the comte d'Estaing never fully recovered from the loss of prestige which followed the defeat at Savannah. The book is fully documented, and is provided with the most satisfactory appurtenances of careful scholarship. It is at the same time an excellently written volume, containing a wealth of detail on personalities and events. The siege of Savannah, numbering among its participants many of the most colorful individuals of the period, was not only an event of very great significance in the course of the Revolution but was also a campaign that lends itself to the storyteller's art. Mr. Lawrence has taken advantage of this fact and has given us a book that is vivid, interesting, and far superior to the usual run of military annals.

JOHN J. MENG, *Hunter College*

THE GREAT RASCAL: THE LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF NED BUNTLINE. By *Jay Monaghan.* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1952, pp. xi, 353, $4.50.) American literature of a lighter nature has its galaxy of famous names such as Emerson Bennett, Adam Beadle, Joseph Holt Ingraham, and scores of others. Perhaps none of them became better known than E. Z. C. Judson or "Ned Buntline." Ned, without a doubt, had every aspiration to be a critical literary man who would attain a position of high respectability. He adventured with short-lived success with the *Western Literary Journal* in 1844, but the American reading public of that era was little more receptive to periodicals than is that of today. From Pennsylvania Ned Buntline made his way through Ohio and Kentucky to Nashville and a new literary start. Nashville was not as hospitable as he hoped, and he crossed his social wires in so hopeless a manner that he had to leave that city in considerable hurry. He drifted back to Philadelphia and then to New York where he attempted to crash into the inner literary circle with practically no success. Later Judson began the publication of the magazine *Ned Buntline's Own,* an organ of temperance leaning, even if its editor leaned the other way. There followed a period of reform which ended finally in bankruptcy. In St. Louis Ned Buntline dabbled in Know-Nothingness to his sorrow and to the detriment of the party. Judson was to succeed at neither literature nor reform. His fort was the writing of thrilling stories of adventure and lurid ones of big city life. He wrote of the sea, the Florida frontier, of the Seminole War and the Civil War. Some of his alluring titles were *Afloat and Ashore, The Black Avenger of the Spanish Main, The Boatmaker of Fifth Avenue, Clara St. John,* and *Buffalo Bill, King of Border Men.* Like many dime novelists generally Judson wrote

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just one jump ahead of the sheriff. He never stopped to revise a paragraph, recast a plot, or to correct a sentence. Physically he drove himself at a prodigious pace. Young America of an earlier day was grateful for Ned Buntline's discovery of William Frederick (Buffalo Bill) Cody. Their Wild West Show was a farce, but Cody fascinated the crowds. Mr. Monaghan has followed Ned Buntline through a long, sinuous life of literary productivity and general rascality. He writes in good style and tells an interesting story. Possibly his book might have been a better contribution if he had explored a bit the type of American mind which absorbed the old ten-cent thriller and patronized such vapid theatricals as Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show.

THOMAS D. CLARK, *University of Kentucky*

RIFT IN THE DEMOCRACY. By *James C. N. Paul.* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1951, pp. xiv, 200, $4.00.) This book is primarily an account of how the Democratic party of Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren lost its soul in the years 1841–44. Believing with others that the breakdown of parties in the 1850's was fatal to the Union, Mr. Paul adds his own thesis that it was during Tyler's administration that the Democratic rift was really created and that the party became merely a framework for bickering sectional interests. The theme of his work is the actual conduct of the politicians in the elaborate intrigues and maneuverings whose culmination was the dramatic and disorderly Baltimore convention. The nomination of Polk and a platform calling for the annexation of Texas were the final repudiation of the idealistic and reforming elements which had been the strength and the hope of Jacksonian as of Jeffersonian democracy. The author has thus illustrated, as he rightly says, that democracy as a system of government is neither better nor worse than the capacities of those who participate in its process; nor can a great political party be understood without considering the characters, friendships, hatreds, and ambitions of its most active members. Mr. Paul's story, though told without animus, is by no means an edifying one. Based largely on letters in a large number of manuscript collections, it analyzes the variously motivated and thoroughly unscrupulous intrigues by which Van Buren was deprived of the nomination that should rightly have been his. The core of the movement was "a handful of ambitious politicos" whose goal was the annexation of Texas. Led by Robert J. Walker, this group with great skill made of Texas the issue uniting all the malcontents of the Democratic party, from men of principle and justifiable ambition to mere vindictives. The end was to make impossible the effort of Clay and Van Buren—the author is convinced they were agreed (pp. 37–38)—to take out the dangerously sectional Texas question, and thus not only was the apparently assured nomination of Van Buren prevented but the national character of the party was destroyed. As an illuminating study in personal politics this book is valuable aside from its thesis. Well and rapidly told, save for a few awkward phrases, it need not be only for specialists. Inevitably, in approaching politics from this side, there is a tendency to force issues into the background and to create heroes and villains. Perhaps Van Buren and his loyal supporters appear more innocent and farsighted than they were and Walker's "Nocturnal Committee" more desperately conspiratorial. Perhaps "the Democracy" could not long have survived Jackson anyway. But Mr. Paul has done well what few other than doctoral candidates attempt. There are only a few serious errata.

HENRY DONALDSON JORDAN, *Clark University*

POLK: THE DIARY OF A PRESIDENT, 1845–1849, COVERING THE MEXICAN WAR, THE ACQUISITION OF OREGON, AND THE CONQUEST OF CALI-

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FORNIA AND THE SOUTHWEST. Edited by *Allan Nevins.* (New York, Longmans, Green, 1952, pp. xxxiv, 412, $6.00.) The four-volume diary of James K. Polk, edited and annotated by Milo Milton Quaife and published in 1910 in limited quantities, is considered by scholars an invaluable contribution to an understanding of Polk and his administration. Unfortunately this work is not known to the reading public. In an attempt to popularize it Professor Nevins has chosen certain of the more significant selections from the Quaife edition for this volume. The bulk of them pertain to the settlement of the Oregon dispute, the Mexican War, and the acquisition of California and New Mexico, although other interesting material has been included, such as comments on John C. Calhoun and Thomas H. Benton. The introduction, the chronology of outstanding events in Polk's administration, the biographical sketches of people who figure prominently in the diary, and the footnotes serve to place the work in its historical setting. Particularly useful are the footnotes, often analytical in nature, which correct Polk's biased opinion of certain persons and inaccurate observations on some events because of his ignorance of all the facts. Possible defects in editing involve questions of judgment such as the obscure method used in indicating abridgments of various entries and the doubtful choice of certain selections from the standpoint of interest and historical importance. For instance, the excerpts from the entry of December 13, 1845, fail to include those portions of the original diary which reveal Polk as a shrewder negotiator in diplomacy than Buchanan, while for the purposes of this edition the entry of the next day might well have been omitted. In spite of the difficulties involved in condensing a four-volume diary to one of reasonable size, Professor Nevins has on the whole been very successful. This fine edition should appeal to a large number of readers who are interested in seeing events in an important period of American history through the eyes of an active participant. EDWIN B. CODDINGTON, *Lafayette College*

BUSINESS IN THE GILDED AGE: THE CONSERVATIVES' BALANCE SHEET. By *Edward C. Kirkland.* (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1952, pp. 59.) This slim volume, originally the Knapp lectures at the University of Wisconsin, is part of the current revaluation of American businessmen of the late nineteenth century. Professor Kirkland's approach is to study the judgments on business personalities and practices that were made by three different types of "conservatives" of the era—by "the bureaucrat," Charles Francis Adams, Jr., by "the moralist," Edwin L. Godkin, and by the businessman's "mirror," Andrew Carnegie. Each of the three essays contains a number of fresh insights; particularly striking is the study of Adams, which emerges at once a treatment of the disillusionment of a bureaucrat and the story of a personal tragedy. Professor Kirkland's over-arching thesis places him among the less extreme of the new interpreters. He is not, he emphasizes, concerned with totally upsetting the "robber barons" approach to the era; he does want to suggest that business-minded thinking between the Civil War and the twentieth century was not "all evil, loss, and hypocrisy." Adams, Godkin, and Carnegie, Professor Kirkland maintains, were to a degree typical of a significant body of conservatives who were neither insincere nor complacent, and who tried to depend on first principles because they did not believe in their own omniscience. "Perhaps," he concludes, "their limitations were their strength."

ERIC F. GOLDMAN, *Princeton University*

HARVEY FIRESTONE: FREE MAN OF ENTERPRISE. By *Alfred Lief.* Foreword by *Allan Nevins.* (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1951, pp. xi, 324, $3.00.) In this read-

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able little book we have information about the man Firestone, his company, the rubber industry, and some of the social and political fringes of the time. Firestone left the farm for a high school and business college education, entered business in 1896 in Chicago, and formed the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company in 1900. He pioneered in making carriage tires, nonskid and balloon tires for automobiles, and tires for tractors and heavy trucks. His company saw competitors go to the wall, until there were only six large companies in the industry and finally only four. The chief theme from the business history standpoint is the growth of a mature industrial capitalism which bordered on integrated capitalism. The establishment of a rubber plantation in Liberia was not duplicated for other products. Firestone learned to think for himself and followed up his ideas and plans by action. He supplanted rule-of-thumb methods by applied science or engineering. He diversified his products in the interest of economy and stability. He avoided dependence on banks as far as possible and spread his factories and warehouses at home and abroad. Feeling keenly his social responsibility, he sponsored many employee benefits without regimentation. He disliked government regulation and control. It was inescapable that the author would include some of the folklore of the time, for example, stories about the triumvirate of Ford, Edison, and Firestone. These three symbolized our business civilization at its height. The author had access to the records of the company but clearly did no real research in the problems before him. He picks and chooses facts and ideas and strings them along chronologically in a convincing and illuminating fashion. He interviewed employees and friends but not Firestone himself, who had died in 1938. In the early part of the book we get the flow of fiction but we cannot doubt the essential accuracy of the picture. In the center of the book there is more documentation and a close intimacy with Firestone, who does not prove to be particularly interesting. After 1938 the treatment is broad and helpful. This is the story of the lengthening shadow of a businessman. In it we see what makes the world of business go around. In it we find the reality of our growth—how one man of enterprise plans, runs risks, has failures, but attains final success. He provides the world of action with a part of its supply of rubber goods. The story is so important that we grudge the padding of extraneous material, personal and public. The book ends with the second generation of sons following the paths indicated by the father.

N. S. B. Gras, *Harvard University*

A HISTORY OF PHELPS DODGE, 1834–1950. By *Robert Glass Cleland.* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1952, pp. xiv, 307, xxii, $4.00.) This book deals with men and enterprises that have played an important part in the business and economic development of the United States. It begins about 1800 with a young saddler in Connecticut who, transferring to New York, established what became a great importing and exporting concern, and whose partners invested in metals manufacture, railroads, lumbering, and coal mining, and eventually in copper mining and smelting. About three fourths of the book deals chiefly with copper interests after 1880 and the growth of Phelps Dodge into a mining and smelting concern of world-wide importance. The book presents, interestingly and effectively, the growth of the interests and activities of Phelps Dodge. It unfortunately gives little attention to the very important mercantile period; it is sparsely documented; and its generalizations and interpretations are not supported adequately to be convincing. As a business historian the reviewer regrets that the history of an American concern so important and made up of so many distinguished executives over more than a century should not have had a thorough and analytical presentation of its administration and opera-

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tion throughout its existence. Such a history would not only have meant an exposition of challenging problems and of business decisions, policies, and operating organization and practices of one company, but would also have made a real contribution to our knowledge of the development of American business. The book was apparently designed as an appreciative volume for a commemorative or public relations purpose, and as such it is of a quality well above the average. The appendix contains historical lists of directors, corporate and departmental executives, branches, and subsidiaries; tabulates metal products by volume; and presents some financial data for 1909–1950. HENRIETTA M. LARSON, *Harvard University*

WOMAN AT WORK: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MARY ANDERSON AS TOLD TO MARY N. WINSLOW. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1951, pp. xii, 266, $3.50.) This might have been several types of book, says the preface. In fact, it is the story of Mary Anderson's education and her part in the labor movement, but at the same time it is a favorite American version of Cinderella, an immigrant girl who rose to a position of importance, in this case chief of the Women's Bureau in the United States Department of Labor. More than that, it is the Cinderella story of American labor in the twentieth century and especially of American women in industry. Mary Anderson's experience almost spanned the cycle of the Industrial Revolution, for in her Swedish home the women wove and spun and even raised the flax for their linen. In the United States her first factory job began at three dollars a week with ten or more hours a day and only a half hour off for lunch. In six years she held ten positions but emerged as a skilled worker with a flair for leadership which the growing trade union movement quickly recognized. For years she was president of the Stitchers Union 94 of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union, delegate to the Chicago Federation of Labor, and a member of the executive board of the International Boot and Shoe Workers Union. While these extracurricular duties absorbed her leisure, they gave her in return an over-all understanding of the conditions of labor which fitted her for her later responsibilities. As organizer for the Women's Trade Union League, she participated in the Hart, Schaffner and Marx agreement which established arbitration as a method of settling labor disputes, and later went to Washington during World War I. There she was appointed to the new Women in Industry Service, which became the Women's Bureau. The story, "filtered but not embroidered," is in Mary Anderson's words, stenographically recorded. It is in simple style with few interpretive sidelights, but from it emerges the strong and generous personality whose efforts have helped the advancement of women everywhere. The interest is heightened by the very candid appraisals of three secretaries of labor and by glimpses of Mary Anderson's friends who ranged from Jane Addams and Carl Sandburg to practically all of the union leaders. It is also a rich quarry for materials on the labor movement during momentous changes. EMILY TAFT DOUGLAS, *Washington, D. C.*

THE UNENDING JOURNEY. By *Elizabeth Wallace.* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1952, pp. 286, $3.50.) Elizabeth Wallace is a charming and ageless person of approximately eighty-seven whose journey, in both the literal and figurative sense of the word, is by no means ended. This account of her life begins with her early childhood in Bogotá, where her father was a Presbyterian missionary and, for a time, chargé d'affaires of the United States embassy. When she was eight years old, with her parents and her two brothers she made the arduous but to her exciting journey from the high plateau in the Andes to her grandparents' home in

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Pennsylvania. Here school began in earnest—though female education in the eighties, at least as pursued by Miss Wallace, had its lighter moments. Sketchily prepared at the Washington Female Seminary, she entered Wellesley College in 1882, where standards appear to have been higher. A few years after graduation she was one of a fortunate few to receive a fellowship for graduate study, in history, at the University of Chicago, then opening its doors on the swamp lands of the south side. Here she wished to specialize in Latin-American history, but, since there was no such course, Dr. William Rainey Harper, dynamic president of the rising university, suggested she study the first semester and teach a course herself the second. Thus began her forty-year association with the University of Chicago during which she became professor of French literature, academic dean, and an integral part of the life of the university and the city around it. Her chapters on the University of Chicago are a real contribution to the history of higher education in the Midwest. In 1896 she made her first trip to Paris and from then on, owing to the unique leave system of the University of Chicago, her second home was France. Spain she knows too, having visited nearly every corner of it in search of traces of Doña Cecilia Böhl de Faber (Fernan Caballero). After her retirement she traveled in the Caribbean, in Central and South America, in China and Japan, in the United States, and of course many times again in France and Spain, her interest and curiosity never satisfied. In the course of her travels and during the years in Chicago she met such well-known and diverse persons as Edmund Rostand and Jane Addams, Kerensky and Rabindranath Tagore, Paderewski and Harriet Monroe, Cardinal Mercier and Yvette Guilbert. Among her good friends were Gaston Paris, the great medievalist of the Sorbonne, and his family, Mark Twain, Ida Tarbell, and many others great and small. But this book is more than a patchwork of reminiscences about celebrities or a catalogue of places visited. Miss Wallace's awareness of the interrelation between places and their inhabitants, past as well as present, her unfailing sympathy and understanding for all people no matter how different their habits, her sense of humor which never seems to have deserted her even under the most trying circumstances—all these together with her consummate mastery of the written, and spoken, word make *The Unending Journey* delightful reading as well as fascinating comment on education and mores in many places during the past three quarters of a century.

CATHARINE SEYBOLD

THE CHANGED POLITICAL THOUGHT OF THE NEGRO, 1915–1940. By *Elbert Lee Tatum*. (New York, Exposition Press, 1951, pp. 205, $3.00.) This is a timely book, appearing in the midst of a presidential campaign. It is not only timely but valuable, for it attempts to analyze and offer an explanation of the shift of the Negro from his traditional adherence to the Republican party to alignment with the Democratic party. The author makes it clear that the explanation is not so simple as the depression of 1929 or the relief and security afforded under the New Deal, but goes back of both. Although he traces the beginning of the waning of Republican dominance over the Negro as far back as 1912 (or earlier) and marshals many causes for the Negro defection, 1932 emerges as the year when the desertion was manifest. He brings into proper focus the importance of the Negro migration from the South to Northern cities to create new "black belts," with the consequent effect on the Negroes' political thinking. The author has approached his subject scientifically by careful research, especially in the Negro newspapers and publications and by proper care in measuring the Negro vote by choosing predominantly Negro districts, such as Harlem and Negro districts in Kansas (p. 128). The writer's obvious effort to be

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fair in denying to Hoover full responsibility for the 1929 depression (pp. 114–15) is somewhat obscured by his inability to see that Hoover's threat to veto the Relief Bill may have been actuated by a conviction that relief was a state rather than federal matter; by failure to see that the President in trying to build white support in the South for the Republican party was seeking to correct the thoroughly unhealthy one-party situation in that region. The absence of an index is a disadvantage; there should be recognition of the fact that in the quotation on page 133 the word "white" (citizens) has undoubtedly been inadvertently omitted; and the frequent use of the word "deference" where "consideration" would seem more natural strikes the reader unpleasantly. ELLA LONN, *Baltimore, Maryland*

WENDELL WILLKIE, 1892–1944. By *Mary Earhart Dillon*. (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott, 1952, pp. 378, $4.00.) Mrs. Dillon, chairman of the department of political science at Queens College, accurately describes her biography of the 1940 Republican presidential candidate as being "essentially a study in public opinion, party politics, and public relations." Consequently, other would-be Willkie biographers need not put away their dreams or their file boxes: an interpretive historical study of Wendell Willkie has not yet been published. The author has portrayed her subject as a brilliant catalyst of public opinion in his crusade for free enterprise against the TVA, as an incredible amateur in politics, and as an able champion of international public relations. Willkie's "loyal opposition," after 1940, and his contribution to the origins of a bipartisan foreign policy are carefully, indeed lovingly, treated. But Mrs. Dillon fails to penetrate the character and mind of Willkie sufficiently to explain how the free-enterprise crusader became, in the end, not only a leading defender of the accomplishments of the New Deal but, as well, an advocate who was willing to lead the Republican party well beyond the New Deal. The change is implicit in Mrs. Dillon's biography, but as an intellectual odyssey, the change seems to be as embarrassing to her as it was to Republican professionals. The author is apparently prevented from facing this problem, central to an interpretation of Wendell Willkie, by her obvious preference for the earlier Willkie (she regrets his failure to adopt a Liberty League sort of campaign in 1940) and by her distaste for "the aggressive inroads of the New Deal upon the liberties of the American people" (p. 8). Writing with an alarming disrespect for fact or careful interpretation, Mrs. Dillon has assembled a package of surprises for the historian of the period. "Except for Willkie, the nation would have become . . . the last surviving democracy in a conquered world" (p. 338). After 1940 "all three branches of government . . . moved in the harmony of a single philosophy of government" (p. 231). "It was generally conceded that up to the time of the acceptance speech, Willkie was elected" (p. 188). The author disposes of foreign policy as not being "an issue in the campaign" of 1940 (p. 22), forgetting that it was an issue of sufficient importance between Willkie and his party to force many Republicans reluctantly into the Roosevelt camp. She knows that American manufacturers busily filled their warehouses in the weeks before NRA in order to take advantage of existing low wages (p. 99), but she ignores the ruinous impact of those full warehouses on NRA efforts to increase employment, purchasing power, and production, when she uncritically reports Willkie's contention that industrial decline under NRA was directly attributable to high wages (p. 105). And although the American language can be disturbingly imprecise upon occasion, certainly it is not our language which places Mrs. Dillon in the position of defining the common people of the Tennessee Valley as Commonwealth and Southern investors with average holdings of $4,000 apiece (p. 44). Mrs. Dillon's

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study gives evidence of having benefited from interviews with political, business, and newspaper figures mentioned in her preface, but the value of her leg-work is greatly dissipated by the complete absence of documentation, a fault for which her publisher may be to blame. An occasional letter is quoted, but no manuscript collections were used in the preparation of this biography: if they had been, presumably there would have been at least an intimation of the projected party realignment with which Willkie and Roosevelt were toying in 1944; this biography not only sheds no light on that project, it does not even mention it. A lengthy bibliography of published sources includes, for reasons not made clear in the text, such items as *"Revue des Deux Mondes, La.* 1829 to date" and *"American Historical Review* . . . 1895 to date." FREDERICK RUDOLPH, *Williams College*

SECTIONAL BIASES IN CONGRESS ON FOREIGN POLICY. By *George L. Grassmuck*. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Volume LXVIII, Number 3.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1951, pp. 181, $2.00.) Mr. Grassmuck's monograph is concerned with the degree to which party and sectional attitudes determined congressional voting on foreign affairs legislation in the two decades prior to Pearl Harbor. His examination is based on six major foreign policy issues during the period: (1) strength of the Army; (2) strength of the Navy; (3) acceptance of the Four Power Treaty; (4) membership in permanent international organizations; (5) foreign loans and aid; and (6) neutrality legislation. By carefully scrutinizing congressional voting records, Mr. Grassmuck produces several noteworthy conclusions. He finds, for example, that neither major party developed a consistent policy on either national defense or foreign affairs during the period 1921–1941. As a rule, senators and representatives from the New England and North Atlantic states, irrespective of party affiliation, were most receptive to increased international participation backed by strong fighting forces. Contrary to popular belief, southern congressmen have not always been the purveyors of the martial spirit. During the 1920's Dixie senators and representatives exhibited either a distinct disinterestedness in or an outright opposition to both military and naval expansion, an attitude which is attributed to strong political partisanship and loyalty to the Democratic party then in opposition. Staunch southern adherence to the Rooseveltian national defense program during the 1930's, according to Mr. Grassmuck, stemmed more out of a desire to support a Democratic administration than from a recognition of the dangers inherent in the international anarchy of the time. The author also maintains that middlewestern congressmen were not the intense isolationists that they are generally thought to have been during both decades. While legislators of both parties were unalterably opposed to participating in war and to creating powerful military and naval forces, their attitude toward joining international organizations compared favorably to that of members of Congress from the Northeast. As an investigative technique, quantitative analysis, upon which Mr. Grassmuck relies, provides pertinent answers to questions involving "how" and "what." Insofar as more discriminating answers are desired to the more subjective questions of "who" and "why," the author, a political scientist, concedes that statistics fail woefully to explain the motivations behind the votes of the lawmakers. Here, clearly, the historian must step into the breach and provide the answers.
HOWARD H. QUINT, *University of South Carolina*

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

VIRGINIA VENTURER, A HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM CLAIBORNE, 1600–1677: THE STORY OF THE MERCHANT VENTURERS WHO FOUNDED VIRGINIA, AND THE WAR IN THE CHESAPEAKE. By *Nathaniel C. Hale*. (Richmond, Va., Dietz Press, 1951, pp. xvi, 340, $5.00.) We usually think of pioneers as men who wore coonskin caps and hunting shirts, or who rode in covered wagons across the great plains. But there were earlier pioneers in America who wore the plumed hat of the Jacobean cavalier and who fought Indians and

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carried civilization into the hinterland with all the hardihood displayed by their rugged successors. William Claiborne of Virginia was one of the first of these, and one who deserves a larger place in history than has ordinarily been accorded him. Born of a Kentish mercantile family, he was appointed by the London Company to be surveyor for Virginia in 1621, and at the age of twenty-one became a permanent resident of the colony. Politically he was a liberal, in religion he was a moderate Puritan; his ambition was to build up a fortune. For many years he held the offices of colonial secretary and treasurer. He was also one of the commissioners appointed by Parliament to reduce Virginia and Maryland to submission to its authority. But Claiborne was primarily a pioneer, and the fortified settlement which he established at distant Kent Island was intended as a base from which he hoped to monopolize the Indian trade of Chesapeake Bay. Failing in this because of the opposition of the Calverts, he established several other frontier settlements, ending his colorful career by being the founder of New Kent County in Virginia. A biography of William Claiborne was published in 1917 by Dr. John Herbert Claiborne, but the present work is on a more extensive scale, is more vividly written, and makes use of new materials. It shows that the author has made a careful study of the printed sources available and has acquired an unusually clear understanding of early Virginia. He states that his work "has been called a historical biography because it lays special emphasis on the background influences of a man's life," and it is, in fact, more history than biography. Conjectures are frequently hazarded as to what Claiborne may have been doing in certain circumstances, but we are given a clear and factual account of the developing life of the colony. It is, however, unfortunate that footnotes are so few and so limited in range as to leave the reader in the dark as to the authority on which most statements and quotations are based. Except for this, the volume would be a most valuable asset to the student of early Virginia history.

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

PAGEANT IN THE WILDERNESS: THE STORY OF THE ESCALANTE EXPEDITION TO THE INTERIOR BASIN, 1776, INCLUDING THE DIARY AND ITINERARY OF FATHER ESCALANTE. By *Herbert E. Bolton.* (Salt Lake City, Utah State Historical Society, 1950, pp. 265, $5.50.) In 1776, the government of New Spain projected an expedition in an attempt to find a better route to Monterey. A year earlier Father Francisco Garces had discovered a new but impractical route to California which extended south and west from Santa Fe. This time an effort would be made to discover a route to the north and west of the New Mexican capital. The ten-man expedition, well-equipped with saddle horses, pack animals, and a herd of cattle "to provide fresh meat on the way," was entrusted to two friars, Father Silvestre Velez de Escalante and Father Francisco Antonacia Dominguez, who were particularly anxious to visit the Yutah Indians and to establish missions among them. Escalante, real though not official leader of the party, and of course the diarist, was a

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Franciscan friar of great intelligence and ability. For eight years he had traveled extensively as missionary through New Mexico and Arizona and was therefore well acquainted with this southwest region. His letters show him to have been an unusual person, "a man of learning, fearless, undaunted, a keen observer and a man of zeal." His diary is simply written, lucid in style, and rich in detail. The expedition set out from Santa Fe July 29, 1776. It followed a circuitous course, traversing southwestern Colorado, paralleling in general the Utah-Colorado line, and entering Utah near the present town of Jensen. Finally, near the modern town of Minersville the adventurers decided for various reasons not to continue the journey to Monterey but to return to Santa Fe, where they arrived January 2, 1777. Thus was completed one of the most remarkable explorations of North America. The journey had covered some 1,800 miles and lasted five months. And while the efforts of Escalante and his men to open up a route to Monterey were in vain and while Spanish officials did not comply with Escalante's request to establish missions among the Timpanogotzis Indians, yet the expedition, by leaving to posterity the earliest recorded description of this country, did much to publicize the Great Basin and thus to contribute to its future exploration and development. *Pageant in the Wilderness* is an excellent monograph. It contains a historical introduction of 129 pages, the 106-page diary of Escalante, and an 8-page report to the king of Spain by Miera, cartographer of the expedition. Two fine maps, one drawn by Miera in 1778, the other prepared by Professor Bolton, who has had long experience in map making, are appended. Dr. Bolton's introduction retells in lucid style the substance and much of the detail of the diary. The volume is handsomely published under the auspices of the Utah State Historical Society. Despite the general excellence of the monograph, however, two rather serious errors appear. On page 58, the author refers to the danger that a proposed dam will obliterate the Dinosaur National Monument and the historic trees at Escalante's camp site. Actually the proposed dam will be built some twenty miles northeast of this area and will have no effect whatsoever on the sites in question. On page 71, Dr. Bolton states that the Utah and Great Salt Lakes do not communicate with each other, "one having fresh water, the other being heavily charged with salt." As a matter of fact, the Jordan River, an outlet of Utah Lake, flows thirty miles northward and empties into the Great Salt Lake. L. H. Creer, *University of Utah*

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COLONIAL PERIOD

NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

MOTOLINIA'S HISTORY OF THE INDIANS OF NEW SPAIN. Translated and Annotated with a Biobibliographical Study of the Author by *Francis Borgia Steck*, O.F.M. [Publications of the Academy of American Franciscan History, Documentary Series, Volume I.] (Washington, Academy of American Franciscan History, 1951, pp. xvii, 358, $6.50.) Father Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M. and Ph.D., has made a fine translation into English of the work of an early Franciscan padre in New Spain in the early sixteenth century and has supplemented the original with a splendid bio-bibliographical study of the author. It is a most useful addition to the series of publications by the Academy of American Franciscan History. Students and scholars in the field, including anthropologists as well as historians, should read the book with great profit. The translation is excellent and the illustrations splendid. The bibliography is most helpful as it includes the works of scholars, not only in the United States but also in Mexico and in Europe, including Spain, England, and Germany. Father Steck, a present-day Franciscan of scholarly distinction, with his doctorate and a wide publication of articles in the field, and membership in historical societies in Spain, Mexico, and the United States, has served the Academy of American Franciscan History most effectively with the publication of this volume. Where Hispanic-American history courses are given it should be widely used as a valuable original source. The volume is also to be praised for its dedication to Dr. Livarius Oliger, O.F.M. The original as translated makes a definite and useful contribution to our knowledge of Indian life and to the conversion of Indians to the faith, with a splendid treatment of churches, missions, schools, and the festival days of the year and the church ceremonies they included. In addition, one section gives an interesting account of the plagues and sickness as it affected the Indians and the Negroes, starting with smallpox and including a total of ten diseases. Indian drunkenness and debauchery, together with the idolatry of their religion, are also fully presented. The value of the volume is enhanced by a frontispiece portrait of Father Motolinia and

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by a fine bibliography of works consulted and an index useful as a guide to Motolinia materials in the volume. ARTHUR S. AITON, *University of Michigan*

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SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA

LA ENSEÑANZA DE LA HISTORIA EN LA ARGENTINA. By *Leoncio Gianello.* [Memorias sobre la enseñanza de la historia, VII.] (Mexico, D.F., Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Comisión de Historia, 1951, pp. viii, 121, $15.00 [m.mex.].) The maturity of Argentine culture, it has already been suggested, has a good and substantial index in the quality of its historical scholarship. Now we are given an idea of classroom teaching aims, methods, texts, and treatment. The strength and vigor of Argentine nationalism has been attributed to the teaching of history in primary, secondary, and normal schools, as well as in the universities. History is a required course throughout the student's school years, and the curriculum approaches the European more nearly than the North American. The social studies have not yet been discovered, and history stands alone in the Argentine high school. This is a good description of Argentine educational aims and curricular requirements, on the primary and secondary levels. It forms part of the series on the "Teaching of History in the Americas," published by the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History, and is one of the better volumes. There is a good narrative introduction and an even better picture of the curriculum as it has evolved and, finally, what it is today under the Perón law of 1949. It is recommended for those interested in comparative education, the status of the "social studies" in another American nation, and the remarkably strong position held by history in the presentation of national values.

HARRY BERNSTEIN, *Brooklyn College*

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Historical News

American Historical Association

The annual meeting of the Association will be held this year in Washington, D.C., on December 28 (Sunday), 29, and 30. Headquarters will be the Mayflower Hotel. The meeting of the Council will be held December 27. Members of the Association are urged to familiarize themselves with the proposed amendment to the Constitution as set forth in full in the July issue of the *Review* (p. 1084). A vote will be taken on the adoption of this amendment at the business meeting on December 29.

As this issue goes to press proof is being received of the list of doctoral dissertations in progress. The size of the edition will be determined somewhat by advance orders, but additional copies are available at one dollar each. Orders may be placed with the Executive Secretary of the Association.

Other Historical Activities

GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES, BRUSSELS, JUNE 12–16, 1952

A General Assembly of the International Committee of Historical Sciences (ICHS), preceded and followed by sessions of the Governing Board, was held in Brussels on June 12–16, 1952, in the comfortable quarters of the Club de la Fondation Universitaire and under the exceedingly hospitable auspices of the Belgian National Committee, Professor Frans van Kalken president. The president of the ICHS, Professor Robert Fawtier (France) presided over the sessions of the Governing Board and the Assembly with vivacity and authority.

Fourteen of the twenty-eight countries now adhering to the ICHS were represented, all of them, except the United States, the United Kingdom, and Ireland, being from western and northern Europe: France, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, Germany, Austria, Italy, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Messages of regret were received from Finland, Poland, Spain, Algeria, and Israel.

Of the three international organizations admitted to representation in the ICHS under the constitutional amendment of September, 1950, two were represented: Institut d'Etudes Slaves, and the Association Internationale des Etudes Byzantines.

From the United States Professor Charles H. Taylor, Harvard, represented the American Historical Association and sat in the Governing Board as deputy

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of Professor Donald McKay, Harvard, the American member of that body. Dr. Waldo G. Leland, former president of the ICHS, attended the meetings in his capacity as honorary counselor of the Governing Board.[1]

Dr. Louis Junod, rector of the University of Lausanne, who had served as treasurer since the resignation of Dr. Largiadèr, Zurich, was duly elected to that office, and Professor F. Chabod, Naples, was elected member of the Governing Board for the unexpired term of Professor Luigi Salvatorelli, Rome, resigned.

Reports were presented by the secretary-general, Monsieur Michel François, France, and by the treasurer. The chief points of the former will be incorporated in later passages of this account; the latter showed a balance as of March 31, 1952, of 9,628.49 Swiss francs as against a balance carried over from April 1, 1951, of 13,310.00.

The matters which received chief attention in the sessions are presented in this account under the following heads: (1) National Committees; (2) Commissions and Projects; (3) Relations with UNESCO; (4) Annual Bulletin of Information; (5) Tenth International Congress of Historical Sciences, 1955.

National Committees

The secretary-general reported that much difficulty had been experienced in securing accurate information respecting the composition or even the existence of some of the national committees. Great stress was laid in the discussions upon the vital importance of these bodies as essential to the life of the ICHS itself. It was urged that they should be representative of the historical interests and organizations of their respective countries and that they should be maintained at full strength not only as agencies of liaison but as activating and operating agencies. They should interpret national scholarly opinion and needs and should formulate proposals for international undertakings of historical scholarship. They should assure the working membership of their most competent nationals in the commissions of the ICHS and large attendance at and useful participation in the international congresses. They should assure the wide diffusion of information respecting the work of the ICHS and its publications and should provide for competent reviews of the latter in scholarly journals, at the same time promoting their distribution and sales. They should assume responsibility for the prompt payment of annual dues and should seek additional contributions to the financial resources of the International Committee. They should maintain an effective liaison with their national committees for UNESCO. Finally they should assure prompt attention to the communications addressed to them by the ICHS or by other national committees. In the United States it is the American Historical Association, a chief founder of the ICHS in 1926, which has the responsibilities of a national committee and exercises its functions.

[1] This report has been prepared by Dr. Leland, aided by a memorandum drawn up by Professor Taylor.—Editor.

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COMMISSIONS AND PROJECTS

By 1939 the commissions of the ICHS, whether in charge of specific projects of research and publication or devoted to the promotion of special historical subjects, had become so numerous, so varied in character, and so unequal in effective operation that they presented a confused picture and raised serious problems of control. During the war many of them ceased to function and some ceased to exist. The secretary-general was able however to make an encouraging report on the activities, whether actual or potential, of a small number of commissions and it was agreed that attention should be mainly focused on these.[2]

Commission on Diplomatic History. The third and final volume of the *Répertoire des représentants diplomatiques de tous les pays, 1643–1815* (a project suggested by the late J. Franklin Jameson) is in preparation. For the first time the United States will contribute a list of its diplomatic representatives.

Commission on Numismatics. Two major projects are planned: a geographical and historical dictionary of the names of money, and a bibliography of sales catalogues dealing with coins.

Commission for the History of Assemblies of States. There are to be published in 1952 Fascicle 10 of the Commission's *Publications,* which will be devoted to the history of the Irish parliament in the Middle Ages, and a volume of the papers on assemblies of states presented to the International Historical Congress of 1950, Paris.

Commission on Iconography. A catalogue, arranged by countries, of the portraits of humanists of the Renaissance is in preparation.

Commission on Military History. An annual *Revue internationale d'Histoire militaire* is edited and published in turn by the participating countries, without expense to the ICHS. (It is now the turn of the United States to prepare such a volume.)

Three commissions, at present inactive, are to be reorganized in the expectation that they will develop useful programs of research and publication: Historical Demography, Ecclesiastical History, and Archives of the Vatican. A new commission, on the history of towns, will be established, following a German proposal, if a satisfactory program of work is formulated.

Commission on Bibliography. Originally created in 1927 to supervise the editing and publication of the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences,* it now has additional bibliographical undertakings assigned to it: bibliography of historical essays in volumes of miscellany, a work interrupted by the war and now being carried to completion by Dr. Hans Nabholz, Zurich, former president of the ICHS; and *Excerpta Historica Nordica* (digests in translation of Scandinavian historical works).

[2] It may be noted that at present the United States is represented on only four commissions: Bibliography, Diplomatic History, Iconography, and History of the Assemblies of States. Of the last named Professor Helen Cam, Harvard-Radcliffe, is chairman and seven other American scholars are members.

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Chief attention was devoted to the problems of the annual *International Bibliography*. The unauthorized departure of the editorial secretary of the *Bibliography*, Madame J. Sztachowa, from the Paris offices of the project for New York, had to be interpreted as being in effect her resignation. The position was declared vacant and the generous offer of the secretary-general, Monsieur Michel François, to see to the completion of the current volume, for 1950, was gratefully accepted.

Careful consideration was given to a memorandum by the chairman of the commission, Monsieur Julien Cain, Paris, suggesting important changes in the organization of the *Bibliography*. A provisional plan was agreed upon, looking to a reduction in the number of items, especially in fields or subjects now fully covered by periodical bibliographies, to a better and more complete selection of essential bibliography, to avoidance of overlapping, to strengthening the bibliography of the history of international relations in all fields of activity, and to the fusion of certain chapters, now obviously inadequate, such as those on Asia, Africa, and America, in other sections of the work. It was also agreed that the national committees should exercise much greater responsibility for the selection of items and that new instructions for their guidance should be compiled.

Relations with UNESCO

Soon after the creation of UNESCO the ICHS, along with other major non-governmental international organizations, was accorded "consultative status" in the new specialized agency of the United Nations. In 1949 the ICHS, together with the International Academic Union and other international bodies devoted to the humanities, formed the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies (ICPHS) which is an advisory and operating agency of UNESCO for the humanistic fields. This Council allocates funds, from the UNESCO budget, to its constituent bodies, now thirteen in number. The ICHS has received modest assistance in this way for the *International Bibliography*, the bibliography of historical essays, the history of the assemblies of states, the list of diplomatic representatives, the *Excerpta Historica Nordica*, and the publication of the records of the Historical Congress of 1950, as well as for the expenses of that congress and of the meetings of the Governing Board.

Particular consideration was given to the problem of the relation of the ICHS to the UNESCO project, which has independent status, of a "History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind." Since the International Committee was not consulted either as to the project itself or as to the selection of scholars engaged in it, it seemed desirable to point out that the ICHS has no responsibility for the undertaking nor official relationship to it, but that the presence of Monsieur Robert Fawtier as an observer in the project's committee of management makes it possible to keep the members of the ICHS informed respecting the progress of the undertaking and to elicit their personal comments if they should wish to make any.

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Annual Bulletin of Information

An important decision was to publish an annual bulletin of information containing data respecting the organization and personnel of the ICHS and its commissions, reports of its proceedings and historical activities, and other material essential to the history of the organization. This bulletin will succeed but by no means replace the original *Bulletin,* the forty-six issues of which, 1927–1940, contain the complete documentation of the Committee's history. National committees will have responsibility for the support of the new bulletin through subscriptions from libraries, organizations, and individuals.

Tenth International Congress of Historical Sciences, Rome, 1955

Plans for the organization and program of the Tenth International Historical Congress to be held in Rome in 1955 were considered at length and in detail. In general the Italian committee (represented by three members in Brussels) will be responsible for the arrangements, while the ICHS itself, through its Governing Board, will be responsible for the program. Criticisms of the Ninth Congress, Paris, 1950, were discussed at length (Professor Taylor reported orally on the suggestions from the United States) and there was general agreement, in accord with much of the criticism, that the number of communications should be reduced, that two afternoons should be left open, that effective "discipline" of the sessions should be assured, that an adequate locale for conversation and social contacts should be provided, and that national committees should have a much greater and better defined part in the selection of topics and the nomination of speakers.

Provisional regulations to govern the preparation of the Congress were agreed upon and will be officially communicated to the national committees in the near future. They may be summarized as follows:

(1) The Congress will be held during the first fortnight of September, 1955, and will include six full days of sessions, together with two free afternoons.

(2) Communications will be of two sorts: "reports" on themes of relatively broad historical interest, which will be presented in the morning sessions, and "papers," of more special character, which will be read in the afternoon sessions.

(3) The full texts of the "reports" will be published by the Italian committee and distributed to members of the Congress six months in advance. They will not be read in the sessions, but will be discussed by their authors, by designated scholars, and from the audience.

(4) The "papers" will be read in the afternoon sessions by their authors and discussed. Summaries of the "papers," prepared by their authors, will be duplicated and distributed at the opening of the Congress.

(5) National committees will be requested to propose themes and authors of "reports" by May 1, 1953, for consideration by the Governing Board in June, of the same year. They will also be requested to nominate readers of "papers."

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The next meeting of the Governing Board will be in June, 1953, at a place to be determined after consideration of factors of expense and convenience. Invitations have been received from Ireland, Switzerland, and Austria.

In order to succeed in carrying through its task, the International Commission for a Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind needs the collaboration of scholars from all countries. To encourage this collaboration, a quarterly *Journal of World History,* published under the auspices of the International Commission, and edited by Professor Lucien Febvre, of France, will appear from March, 1953. The *Journal* will endeavor to reflect the state of historical thinking at the present time, and it is also hoped that it will provide an open forum for discussing the problems of writing a scientific and cultural history of mankind as well as a means of voicing critical comments on the materials prepared for its realization. Articles on all cultures and aspects of history will be requested from leading authorities upon the suggestion of the editorial board, and a certain number of voluntary contributions will also be accepted. Each number of the *Journal* will contain about two hundred pages of original contributions on various aspects of the historical development of man and society and about a hundred pages of criticisms, comments, and suggestions on the articles contributed, as well as on history in general. Certain aspects of history will be dealt with by the publication of symposiums as supplements to the *Journal.* The articles will appear in one of the three working languages of the Commission (English, French, or Spanish) and abstracts will be given in the two other working languages, as well as in German and in Russian. Inquiries about the *Journal of World History* should be addressed to Dr. Guy S. Métraux, Secretary-General, International Commission for a Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind, UNESCO, Paris.

The International Commission was entrusted by UNESCO with the preparation of a scientific and cultural history of mankind as a result of resolutions taken at the fourth, fifth, and sixth sessions of the General Conference. The materials published in the *Journal* will be used in the writing of the final text of the history, which will be based on a plan elaborated by the editorial committee and approved by the International Commission. Through its president, the editorial committee will supervise the work of developing the outline adopted by the Commission. The editorial committee includes the following: Professor Ralph E. Turner (U.S.A.), Professor R. C. Majumdar (India), Professor Charles Morazé (France), Professor Silvio Zavala (Mexico), and Professor Constantine Zurayk (Syria). The plan adopted for the History by the Commission provides for six volumes, each to be prepared under the direction of one or two scholars working in co-operation with the editorial committee: (I) Prehistoric and ancient times to 1200 B.C.; (II) From about 1200 B.C. to A.D. 400; (III) From about 400 to 1300; (IV) From about 1300 to the late eighteenth century; (V) From the late eighteenth century to the early twentieth century; (VI) From the early twentieth

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century to 1950. Authorities of highest reputation in many fields of scholarship and from many countries will be appointed by the Commission to serve as consultants on all intellectual problems arising in the course of preparing the history. Committees of historical and other scholars created specially in many countries will also advise the Commission.

The Library of Congress announces the acquisition of the papers of Cordell Hull, former Secretary of State. This gift, which consists of approximately 33,000 documents dating from 1910 to 1950, covers the major part of Mr. Hull's career. The Rockefeller Foundation has provided a grant for the arrangement and professional indexing of these papers and this is already being done by John W. Davidson. When this work is completed in about a year, applications to use the Hull Papers may be submitted through the chief of the Manuscripts Division.

Mrs. Charles Evans Hughes, Jr., has presented the papers of the late Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes. This collection of approximately 20,000 items illuminates a remarkable career of forty years of public service. These papers may be used only by the permission of the family, which may be secured through the chief of the Manuscripts Division.

The papers of Owen Wister, representing an important addition of 11,000 items to the Library's growing collection of literary and cultural source materials have been donated by the author's children. Of greatest interest to historians is the large collection of his personal correspondence with Rudyard Kipling, Ernest Hemingway, Hamlin Garland, Henry James, S. Weir Mitchell, Theodore Roosevelt, and Henry Cabot Lodge.

The children of Newton D. Baker have recently presented a large collection of some 52,000 papers of their father. This collection, not yet fully processed, contains materials relating to Baker's public career from 1916 to his death in 1937. Included in the collection is a large body of correspondence relating to his career as Secretary of War during World War I. These papers may be used only by permission of the Baker family secured through the chief of the Manuscripts Division.

Mrs. Albert J. Beveridge has presented an additional group of the papers of her late husband which supplement the valuable collection of Albert J. Beveridge Papers already in the Library. This new group consists of several of the senator's earlier diaries, many of his addresses, and an additional body of his correspondence. Mrs. Beveridge has also given the manuscript notes, memorandums, drafts, and proofs for Mr. Beveridge's *Life of John Marshall* and his biography of Lincoln, on which he was working at the time of his death. When this addition has been processed, it may, like the main body of Beveridge Papers, be consulted only by permission of Mrs. Beveridge, secured through the chief of the Manuscripts Division.

The personal papers of Gutzon Borglum, sculptor of the Mount Rushmore

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National Monument in the Black Hills of South Dakota, have been given by Mrs. Borglum. This collection, which numbers more than 20,000 pieces, relates to Borglum's early days in European art schools, his association with the Progressive party from 1912 to 1916, the Hughes Aircraft Investigation of 1918, and the controversy over the Confederate Monument on Stone Mountain. Other papers refer to the many monuments and memorials which he executed. Until June, 1957, the Borglum Papers may be used only by written permission of Mrs. Borglum and her son Lincoln Borglum.

The National Archives has recently issued *Preliminary Inventories* of records deposited by the following agencies: Petroleum Administration for War (1941–46); Office for Agricultural War Relations (1940–43); Weather Bureau, climatological and hydrological records (1893–ca. 1940); Hydrographic Office (1837–1950); United States Mint at Philadelphia (1792–1904); National Recovery Administration (1933–37).

Preliminary selection of the documents for Series D of *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918–1945,* published by the Department of State, has been completed to the end of the war in May, 1945; final selection has been made by the editors in chief to December 31, 1940. It is expected that all volumes of Series D containing documents up to the outbreak of the Second World War in September, 1939, will be released in 1953.

The New York Public Library has rendered a service by publishing, in a paper-bound volume, the interesting diaries of two of the crew with Admiral Perry on his cruise to open up Japan. The diaries are interesting in themselves and their value is heightened by the excellent introduction by Henry F. Graff of Columbia University. *Bluejackets in Japan* has been listed in previous issues of this journal as it appeared serially in the *Bulletin* of the library.

The Society of American Archivists will hold its sixteenth annual meeting in Lexington, Kentucky, October 27 and 28. Among topics to be discussed are practical and technical problems of archivists, historical and business archives, and regional and local collections. The officers of the society at present are William D. McCain, president; Wayne C. Grover, vice president; Roger Thomas, secretary; and Helen L. Chatfield, treasurer.

Because of the increasing importance of the problem of interpreting American civilization abroad, the American Studies Association is planning a two-day conference on aspects of this subject to be held at the Library of Congress on Friday and Saturday, November 28 and 29, 1952. One session each will be devoted to discussions of (1) American studies programs in Europe, (2) experi-

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ences of American scholars in Europe, and (3) experiences of European scholars in America. A fourth session will consider the implications which the findings of the preceding sessions have for American civilization studies programs in the United States. The chairman of the conference will be Dean Charles Manning of the University of Maryland, to whom those interested in details of the conference are invited to address their inquiries.

The newly organized Conference on British Studies (see *AHR,* April, 1952, p. 845) has appointed a committee to explore the possibilities of founding a journal of history to be devoted exclusively to the publication of articles in medieval and modern English history, and British Empire history. Because of the difficulties attendant upon starting a magazine, the committee needs to have some idea of the probable number of subscribers and would therefore appreciate postcards from all who are interested in such a quarterly journal. Cards should be mailed, with the sender's address, to Samuel C. McCulloch, Department of History, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

The twentieth annual meeting of the Berkshire Historical Conference was held May 16–18 at South Egremont, Massachusetts. Sixteen women teaching in the field of history and representing ten colleges attended. Mrs. Vera Brown Holmes of Smith College and Mrs. Grace H. Larsen of Rutgers University were re-elected president and secretary-treasurer respectively. Following a report by Miss Caroline Robbins of Bryn Mawr College on the influence of Francis Hutcheson, the group discussed British and colonial history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In Detroit last December a group of scholars met and voted to organize the American Name Society for the purpose of promoting and encouraging the study of place names, personal names, and scientific and commercial nomenclature. The new society plans to publish a quarterly. A meeting will be held in December, 1952, in Boston, to complete the organization. Inquiries about membership should be addressed to Professor Erwin G. Gudde, Treasurer, American Name Society, University of California Press, Berkeley 4, California.

The Pan American Union, with the collaboration of the Library of Congress and the Chilean embassy, has organized a centennial celebration in memory of the Chilean scholar José Toribio Medina. The celebration, which will be held November 6–8 in Washington, D.C., will include an exhibit of pertinent materials and a four-session symposium devoted to Medina's contributions to Americanist studies.

The University of Notre Dame Committee on International Relations has received another grant of $65,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation for its pro-

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gram of research. During the three years the committee has been functioning, four volumes of studies have been published and five other volumes are nearing the publication stage. Besides these books, the committee has conducted several symposiums and published several articles, chiefly in the *Review of Politics*. The chairman of the committee is Waldemar Gurian, and the other permanent members are Ferdinand A. Hermens, Stephen Kertesz, William O. Shanahan, and Matthew A. Fitzsimons.

The first six awards to outstanding retired professors who will continue teaching and consultative responsibilities at selected small liberal arts colleges for the academic year 1952–53 have been announced by the John Hay Whitney Foundation under its new program of Whitney Visiting Professors in the Humanities. Wilson P. Shortridge, of West Virginia University, who will go to Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington, is the only historian among them. The Foundation has also made known a plan to establish a registry of professors in the humanities who although retired still wish to teach.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, has announced the following awards for 1952–53: Leslie V. Brock, College of Idaho, the currency of the American colonies, 1700–1775; Gerald S. Brown, University of Michigan, British politics and administration in the American Revolution; William L. Sachse, University of Wisconsin, Americans in Britain before the Revolution; James Morton Smith, Cornell University, the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions and other opposition to the Alien and Sedition Laws; Marion R. G. Tinling, California State Department of Education, edition of the writings of William Byrd, II.

For the year 1953–54 the Institute is prepared to provide a limited number of grants-in-aid of research to individual writers or scholars who are carrying on studies in the field of American history prior to the year 1815. These grants, which ordinarily will not exceed $1,000, are made in conjunction with the publication program of the Institute, and upon the condition that the recipients shall submit the completed product of their researches to the Institute for consideration for publication. Requests for application forms and other information should be addressed to the Director, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Goodwin Building, Williamsburg, Virginia. Candidates must file their applications not later than March 15, 1953, and the announcement of awards will be made May 15, 1953.

The Institute announces an annual prize of $500 for a published book in the field of early American history and culture. This field embraces all phases of American history to about 1815, including the borderlands of the British North American colonies and the British colonies in the West Indies to 1776. There is no limitation on the type of work eligible (monographic, documentary, biblio-

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graphical, etc.) or on its place of publication, but it must be in English. The first award will be made in May, 1953, for a book published during 1952. Books to be considered for the prize may be submitted to the Director, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Box 1298, Williamsburg, Virginia, at any time after this announcement is made, but cannot be considered if submitted later than January 15, 1953.

Among the recipients of advanced graduate fellowships awarded by the American Council of Learned Societies for 1952–53 are: Deno Geanakoplos, Harvard University; Thomas F. Gossett, University of Minnesota; Russell A. Kirk, St. Andrews University; August Meier, Columbia University; William Samolin, Columbia University; Richard P. Cecil, University of Washington; Clinio L. Duetti, University of Wisconsin; Ralph E. Giesey, University of California, Berkeley; Leon Hurvitz, Columbia University; Edward Lurie, Northwestern University; and William C. Seitz, Princeton University. Faculty study fellowships granted by the A.C.L.S. include Louis Filler, assistant professor of American civilization in Antioch College, who will study psychology, sociology, and anthropology, and William R. Leslie, associate professor of history in the University of Michigan, who will study the canon law of the Church of England.

Raymond S. Ginger is the recipient of the Business History Fellowship for the academic year 1952–1953. This fellowship, awarded by the Business Historical Society, carries a stipend of $4,000 and enables an advanced scholar, usually the holder of a doctor's degree in history, to spend a year of study and research at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. The recipient of the fellowship is permitted free use of his time while at Harvard to pursue whatever aspects of the history of business he may choose. Dr. Ginger will take a year's leave of absence from his duties as assistant professor of economics at Western Reserve University.

The Bancroft Awards of Columbia University were given this year to C. Vann Woodward for his *Origins of the New South, 1877–1913* and to Merlo J. Pusey for his biography of Charles Evans Hughes.

Philip L. Ralph, chairman of the department of history in Lake Erie College, Painesville, Ohio, has been awarded a fellowship of the Eugene F. Saxton Memorial Trust to assist in the completion of an interpretive study of Western civilization.

The American Philosophical Society makes grants for expenses to persons engaged in research in the physical sciences, the biological sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities. The committee on research meets in October, De-

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cember, February, April, and June. An application may be made at any time and will be considered at the next meeting of the committee if received a month in advance. Information concerning grants and application forms may be obtained from the Executive Office of the Society, 104 South Fifth Street, Philadelphia 6, Pennsylvania.

The Institute of the History of Medicine, of the Johns Hopkins University, announces the continuation of its fellowships in the history of medicine and of the natural sciences. One purpose of these awards, which provide from $2,000 to $3,000 in each case, is to supplement the training of young scholars who are interested in the history or sociology of science. Those who hold the Ph.D., or who have at least completed residence work for this degree, are eligible to apply. One fellowship has been awarded for 1952–53, to John M. Hirschfield of the University of Chicago. Inquiries relating to 1953–54 should be addressed to the Director, 1900 East Monument Street, Baltimore 5, Maryland, preferably before December 15, 1952.

The United States Office of Education, in co-operation with the Department of State, has again announced the availability of fellowships to United States graduate students as provided under the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations (see *AHR,* October, 1951, pp. 292–93). Applications must be received by the Office of Education not later than January 15, 1953.

Personal

Appointments and Staff Changes

Charles E. Odegaard has resigned as director of the American Council of Learned Societies to accept an appointment as dean of the College of Literature, Science, and the Arts, in the University of Michigan. He will also serve as professor of history.

Bernadotte E. Schmitt, chief of the German War Documents Project and United States editor in chief of *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918–1945,* has retired from the Department of State. He has been succeeded by Paul R. Sweet, formerly of Colby College, who since 1949 has been the head of the United States team working in the original German archives now located at Whaddon Hall, near Bletchley, England. Mr. Sweet's place in England has been taken by Howard McGaw Smyth, formerly of the University of California and recently of the historical service of the Army.

Bert James Loewenberg, professor of American history at Sarah Lawrence College, will lecture at Ruskin College, Oxford, during the first term 1952–53, and at the University of Jerusalem in January, 1953.

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Howard F. Cline, formerly of Northwestern University, has gone to the Library of Congress as director of the Hispanic Foundation.

Edwin C. Rozwenc has been promoted to professor of history in Amherst College, and John B. Halsted has been appointed instructor in history.

Selig Adler has been promoted to full professorial rank at the University of Buffalo and Wendell N. Calkins to the rank of assistant professor of history. Bradley Chapin has joined the staff of the department of history and government as an instructor for the current academic year.

Benjamin N. Nelson, of the University of Minnesota, is serving as visiting associate professor of history at Columbia University.

John A. Munroe has been promoted to professor of history and named chairman of the department in the University of Delaware, and David Bushnell has been promoted to assistant professor.

Charles S. Sydnor, professor of history in Duke University, has been named dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. His new duties began in September.

Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, professor emeritus at Princeton University, and James C. Bonner, of Georgia State College for Women, are serving as visiting professors of history in Emory University. George P. Cuttino, formerly of Bryn Mawr and Swarthmore colleges, has gone to Emory as associate professor in the new Graduate Institute of Liberal Arts. J. Russell Major has been granted a two-year leave of absence to do research in France, Spain, and Italy, under a Fulbright award and a Guggenheim Fellowship.

Cornelius J. Brosnan has retired from the department of history of the University of Idaho after thirty years of service. During the current academic year he is visiting professor of history in Whitworth College.

Gifford B. Doxsee has gone to International College, Beirut, Lebanon, for three years to teach medieval and modern history.

The Institute of the History of Medicine, the Johns Hopkins University, announces the appointments of Ludwig Edelstein as lecturer in Greek medicine and Barkev S. Sanders as lecturer in medical economics, and the reappointment of Alexandre Koyré, of L'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, University of Paris, as visiting professor in the history of science for the first semester of the present academic year.

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Herbert A. Wisbey, Jr., formerly of Monmouth Junior College, has accepted an appointment as associate professor and head of the department of history and political science at Keuka College.

The department of history of the University of Maryland reports that Donald C. Gordon is on sabbatical leave during the fall semester and is in London working on his study of Australian nationalism. Roland Stromberg has been transferred to the university's European program for 1952–53. New visiting appointments to the European program for the year are J. Wesley Hoffmann, University of Tennessee, Joseph Baylen, New Mexico Highlands University, and Marvin Wachman, Colgate University.

Karl W. Deutsch has been promoted to professor of history and political science in the School of Humanities and Social Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. During the current academic year he is serving as research associate with the rank of visiting professor at Princeton University.

William B. Munson has been promoted to professor of history and Carlyle R. Beyer and Ione Stuessy Wright to associate professors in the University of Miami.

The department of history of the University of Michigan reports the promotions of William R. Leslie to associate professor and of John W. Hall and Karl H. Reichenbach to assistant professors. Professor Hall is in charge of the Michigan Center for Japanese Studies in Okayama, Japan, during the year February, 1952–February, 1953. During his absence his courses are being given by Ronald S. Anderson, of the University of California.

George W. Anderson has been promoted to associate professor of history in the University of Minnesota and Clarke Chambers to assistant professor.

At Mississippi State College, Glover Moore has been promoted to professor of history and James H. McLendon to associate professor.

Howard Vallance Jones, Jr., has been promoted to assistant professor of history in the University of New Hampshire.

J. C. Russell, chairman of the department of history in the University of New Mexico, is a Fulbright lecturer at University College, Aberystwyth, Wales, during 1952–53. Benjamin Sacks is serving as acting chairman of the department.

John C. Cairns, formerly of the Woman's College, University of North Carolina, has been appointed lecturer in history in the University of Toronto.

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The department of history of Northwestern University reports that Franklin D. Scott is on leave for a year, having accepted an appointment by the Social Science Research Council to do research in Norway and Sweden. Richard W. Leopold has been granted leave of absence for the fall and spring quarters. George T. Romani was awarded a Fulbright research fellowship and is in Italy. Gordon H. McNeil, of Coe College, is visiting professor of European history for the current year. Clarence L. Ver Steeg has been promoted to the rank of assistant professor.

The department of history in the University of Notre Dame announces the promotions of James A. Corbett to full professor and of Marshall T. Smelser and Boleslaw Szczesniak to associate professors. William H. Miller and Richard Balfe have been appointed instructors.

The department of history in the Ohio State University reports the promotions of Paul Varg to associate professor and of Harry Coles, Jr., and Harvey Goldberg to assistant professors. Three newly appointed instructors are Theodore Fisch, Clayton Roberts, and James M. Smith.

At the University of Oregon Gordon Wright has been appointed to a three-year term as chairman of the department of history. He is on leave during the fall term to serve on the faculty of the National War College. Quirinus Breen is on leave for the year to study humanist literature in Italy on a Fulbright grant. Paul S. Dull is on sabbatical leave in Japan, and Stanley A. Spector has been appointed instructor in history to replace him. Edwin R. Bingham has been promoted to assistant professor.

William Warren Sweet of Southern Methodist University is visiting professor of American history at Pomona College, and Herbert B. Smith is visiting assistant professor.

Richard D. Challener and Gordon B. Turner have been promoted to assistant professors of history in Princeton University.

Robert A. Kann, associate professor of history in Rutgers University, has joined the staff of the Center for Research on World Political Institutions at Princeton University for a part of the year 1952 in order to write the Austria-Hungary portion of the center's study of political integration.

Purdue University announces the promotions of Walter Otto Forster and

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George Hillman Mayer to associate professors and of Robert Joseph Graf, Jr., and John Ford Stover to assistant professors.

Vincent Scramuzza, professor of history in Smith College, has retired after twenty-two years of service.

Colin Rhys Lovell has been promoted to associate professor of history in the University of Southern California.

The department of history of Stanford University announces the following staff changes: Edgar E. Robinson has retired from active teaching and has undertaken a two-year study under a grant from the J. Brooks Parker estate of Philadelphia. The subject of the study is "A Critical Evaluation of the Roosevelt Years, 1933–45." Thomas A. Bailey has been named Margaret Byrne professor of American history and has been designated executive head of the department. Ralph H. Lutz has retired from active teaching and will continue research in the Hoover Institute and Library. H. Stuart Hughes, formerly of Harvard University, has joined the staff as associate professor in modern European history. John C. Miller holds the new Edgar E. Robinson chair in American history; during 1952–53 he will be doing research in Holland, England, and France on a Fulbright grant. Beverly McAnear, of the New York State Teachers College at New Paltz, is substituting for Professor Miller. John J. Johnson has been granted leave of absence for a year to assume duties in the Department of State, and Rolland Rogers will take over his work during the autumn and winter quarters. J. Fred Rippy, of the University of Chicago, will be visiting professor during the spring and summer quarters of 1953. Norman A. Graebner, of Iowa State College, has gone to Stanford on a one-year appointment as acting associate professor. James B. Burnell and John H. Trueman of Cornell University and Howard Kaminsky of the University of Chicago have joined the staff as instructors in the course in Western civilization, and Walter M. Simon has been promoted to acting assistant professor and will serve as assistant director of the course.

Anson E. Morse, professor of history in Temple University, has retired. Clement G. Motten and Thomas D. McCormick have been promoted to associate professorships.

A. Hunter Dupree, of Texas Technological College, Lubbock, is on leave during the current academic year to work on a biography of Asa Gray. He holds a one-year appointment as research fellow of the Gray Herbarium of Harvard University and has a research grant from the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

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John H. Kemble of Pomona College has been appointed to the U.S. Naval War College chair of military history for the current academic year.

At Vanderbilt University Henry L. Swint and Dayton Phillips have been promoted to professorships in history, Paul H. Hardacre to associate professor, and Constantine G. Belissary to assistant professor. Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., formerly of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, has been appointed assistant professor of history.

At the University of Washington Ernst Levy has retired with the rank of emeritus professor. Solomon Katz has received a Fulbright appointment as well as a Guggenheim fellowship and is engaged in research in Paris and Athens during the current year. John Cavarnos is substituting for him. Robert A. Schoyen is teaching in place of Donald E. Emerson, who is on leave for the year.

Alfred H. Kelly, associate professor of history in Wayne University, has been named Leo M. Franklin Memorial Professor in Human Relations for 1952–53.

Dorothy Edith Wyatt, formerly professor of history in Goucher College, has gone to the College of William and Mary as dean of women.

The department of history of the University of Wisconsin announces the promotion of Eugene P. Boardman to associate professor and the appointment of three assistant professors: Robert A. Lively, formerly of Vanderbilt University; Rondo E. Cameron, formerly of Yale University; and John C. Greene, formerly of the University of Chicago. Charles Edson is on leave for the year to continue his studies on Macedonia at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton. James Z. Rabun of Emory University is visiting professor of American history during the fall semester, and John Hope Franklin of Howard University will be visiting professor during the spring semester. Raymond E. Lindgren, formerly of Vanderbilt University, is serving as visiting professor in the Scandinavian Area Program.

At Yale University Harry R. Rudin has been named Colgate professor of history and chairman of the department. Franklin L. Baumer is director of graduate studies in history. During the first term of the present academic year Torvald Höjer of the University of Stockholm is visiting professor of history. Leonard Krieger is on leave of absence for the year for research as a Morse Fellow. James E. Roohan, formerly of the State University of Iowa, has been appointed assistant professor of history, and Richard Herr, Cushing Strout, and L. Pearce Williams have been appointed instructors. Carl E. Schorske of Wes-

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leyan University is visiting lecturer for the year. Sherman Kent is still on leave for government service.

Recent Deaths

On June 17, 1952, Raymond C. Werner, professor of history at the University of Illinois, died of a heart attack after a brief illness. Born in Milwaukee, April 4, 1893, A.B. University of Wisconsin, 1915, he took his first assignment in 1915 as clerk to the American legation in Peking, where he developed a life-long interest in Chinese language, literature, and history. Later he entered business in Milwaukee and then taught history at the Washington High School in Milwaukee (1922–25). He went to the University of Iowa in 1925 to work under Professor W. T. Root, and received his Ph.D. degree there in 1927.

Dr. Werner joined the department of history of the University of Illinois in 1927 as an instructor and became professor in 1950. In the twenty-five years of his service at the university he served with distinction in various capacities. He participated in giving the general American history course and in that course was long the most popular and successful instructor. A good part of his work was with graduate students, particularly on the level of the master's thesis, and during his years at the University of Illinois he directed with care, patience, and sympathetic understanding of student difficulties the writing of over one hundred master's theses. Dr. Werner was before all else a great teacher, but he was also vitally interested in research. His work on Joseph Galloway is well known, and during the coming year he was planning a visit to Ireland to examine in detail the surviving Galloway papers.

One of his former assistants recently paid him this tribute: "For two years I taught quiz sections under his direction. He was most considerate in helping me with my first teaching, and I learned much from the example of his own lectures, so well-organized, so enlivened with human interest, so marked with droll humor, so clearly delivered. He had the human art of making a lowly teaching assistant or a beginning graduate student feel important, not like a person in a subservient position but like a fellow-worker."

Orin Grant Libby, professor emeritus of American history in the University of North Dakota, died March 29 at the age of eighty-seven. He was born in Hammond, Wisconsin, and received all his collegiate and postgraduate training at the University of Wisconsin. He took his doctorate in 1895 with a thesis which when published under the title *The Geographical Distribution of the Vote of the Thirteen States on the Federal Constitution, 1787–88* was well received as an original and useful type of research. His doctorate was among the first, if not the first, achieved at Wisconsin under the guidance of Frederick Jackson Turner. Dr. Libby served as a teaching fellow and instructor in Wisconsin until called to the University of North Dakota in 1902. Here he remained for forty-three

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years with many years as head of the department. He was a past president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and a member of various state commissions. He contributed papers to the *Annual Report* of this Association, to the *Collections* of the Wisconsin Historical Society and to the *Transactions* of the Wisconsin Academy. The recently established division of manuscripts at the University of North Dakota has been named in his honor.

Elizabeth K. Kendall, professor emerita of history, Wellesley College, died May 15 at the age of ninety-seven. She was chairman of the department of history from 1902 to 1920. She published a source book of English history (1900, 1928) and a volume of her impressions of West China and Mongolia (1913).

Abraham S. Wolf Rosenbach, noted bibliophile, dealer and collector of rare books and manuscripts, died in Philadelphia on July 1 at the age of seventy-five. Dr. Rosenbach was the author of a number of works on books and bibliography, he established a fellowship in bibliography at the University of Pennsylvania in 1930, and he is said to have had a hand in forming all the great private collections in the United States.

George Parker Winship, long among the most distinguished librarians and bibliographers in the United States, died on June 22 at the age of eighty. Following his graduation from Harvard in 1893 he catalogued the library of John Carter Brown of Providence. This led to his appointment as librarian and curator of the collection, which he made outstanding in the field of early American history. He was adviser to the rare book section of the Library of Congress. His career at the John Carter Brown Library was followed by service as curator of the Widener Collection at Harvard. He was the author of many books and articles on the history of printing and in 1940 delivered the Rosenbach lectures at the University of Pennsylvania.

The social sciences suffered a severe loss in the death of Louis Wirth, professor of sociology in the University of Chicago, May 3. Dr. Wirth was in his fifty-fifth year. His exceptional ability, sound judgment, and broad scholarship made him a valued member or adviser in any important group, public or private, dealing with social problems.

Sister Gerardus, for the last twenty-eight years professor of history and head of the department in St. Joseph's College for Women, Brooklyn, died on July 11. She was for many years a member of this Association.

Ferdinand Lot, professor of medieval history at the University of Paris and director of the historical and philological section at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes,

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died July 20 at the age of eighty-six. He was a member of the Institut de France and the author of some three hundred volumes, chiefly in medieval history, with special reference to France. One of his major works, *The End of the Ancient World and the Beginnings of the Middle Ages,* was translated in 1931. Other outstanding works dealt with the Carolingians and the Capetians.

Of Corrado Barbagallo, who died in Turin, May 16, 1952, Marc Bloch wrote a few years ago: "He is one of the rare historians who have undertaken, in our own days, to write single-handedly a universal history . . . and one of the still rarer men who have the learning and the gifts which are required to carry out a work of this kind." Not only his *Storia universale* (5 vols., Turin, 1931–51) but also his other works show the unusual chronological width of his range of interest. A militant socialist and anti-Fascist, he was particularly attracted by economic and social problems, to which he devoted his most significant books—such as *Il tramonto di una civiltà* (*la fine della Grecia antica*) (2 vols., Florence, 1923; French trans., Paris, 1927); *L'oro e il fuoco* (Milan, 1927); *Le origini della grande industria contemporanea* (2 vols., Florence, 1930); *Due rivoluzioni* (Milan, 1945)—and a large number of articles, the last of which was a paper presented to the International Congress of historians in Paris: "La crisi economico-sociale dell'Italia della Rinascenza," *Nuova rivista storica,* XXXIV and XXXV (1950–51). Born in Sicily, 1877, he became professor of economic history in the University of Catania, 1924, and later moved to the universities of Naples (1925) and Turin (1949). His combative, but generous and open-minded spirit gave some of its best fruit in the *Nuova rivista storica,* which he, jointly with Gino Luzzatto, founded in 1917 and edited up to his last days. The magazine is now one of the three leading historical periodicals in Italy.

Communications

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

M. F. Bond, Clerk of the Records of the House of Lords, writes me that the entry in my *Bibliography of British History, 1714–1789,* relating to the manuscripts in his care is misleading. The reports he has sent me show clearly how accessible to students and how widely used the records are, consisting as they do of all original Acts of Parliament, 1497 to date, and practically all Papers laid on the Table, 1610 to date. The next volume of the *Calendar,* 1712–14, is in press. Manuscript indexes for 1704–1818 are available in the Lords' Record Office, while the Lords' Journals with their collected indexes serve as a further guide to the whole accumulation, 1509 to date.

Newberry Library Stanley Pargellis

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

In his review of my essay on Paracelsus (*AHR,* April, 1952, p. 725), Professor Castiglioni erroneously says that I am a physician. This mistake is regret-

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table since in the book I stated repeatedly that I was not writing a medical book. I also specifically declined to "solve the problem of Paracelsus" which Professor Castiglioni accuses me of failing to solve, and I gave reasons for my differing approach. Contrary to custom, Professor Castiglioni fails to report that I have tried a new approach to Paracelsus through the legend of Faustus. He is free to think that this approach has failed, too, but he has no right to expect from me an answer to a question which I think has been wrongly asked.

Professor Castiglioni, moreover, makes me say things which I did not say; thus, I did not imply any causal relationship between the invention of pumps and the discovery of the blood circulation; I said that both innovations could be made only by men of the same age. He attributes to me the controversial opinion that autopsies still were frowned upon by the Church; in awareness of the controversy, however, I had been careful to use an expression which I almost literally lifted from one of Professor Castiglioni's Italian books: "public dissections were a show rather than instruction." As to the Paduan anatomists of whom Professor Castiglioni says that "there were none," I must refer him to Vesalius, who mentioned at least two, although generally he used his praise sparingly. Finally, I think it unfair to scold me for counting Pico among the Florentine cabalists, although I had introduced him previously as author of the "manifesto of the Renaissance."

It seems, however, that the burden of Professor Castiglioni's criticism is not directed against my book so much as against Paracelsus, whom medical men still regard with an intense dislike. I know of no other person in the whole history of science who still is able to arouse emotions to such a pitch (as recently evidenced at a convention in Italy) although his opinions have been discarded together with those of his opponents. In my book I proposed to bury this axe by shifting the focus of our attention to an altogether different context within which the life and legend of Paracelsus may become meaningful for a historian of culture. The clue to my approach is in the German title "Das Urbild des Dr. Faust," which unfortunately the American publisher refused to use.

New York, N.Y. HENRY M. PACHTER

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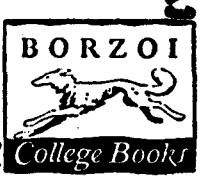
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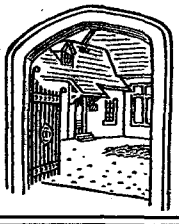
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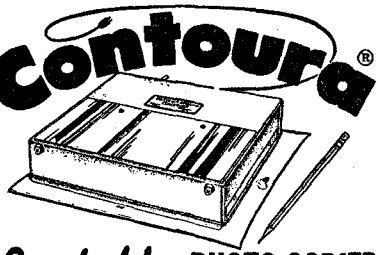
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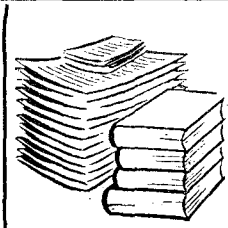


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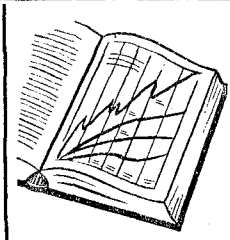
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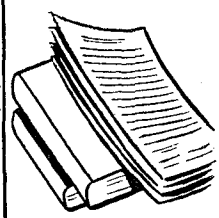
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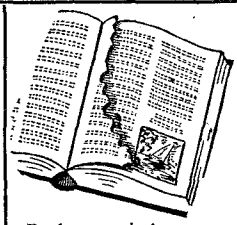
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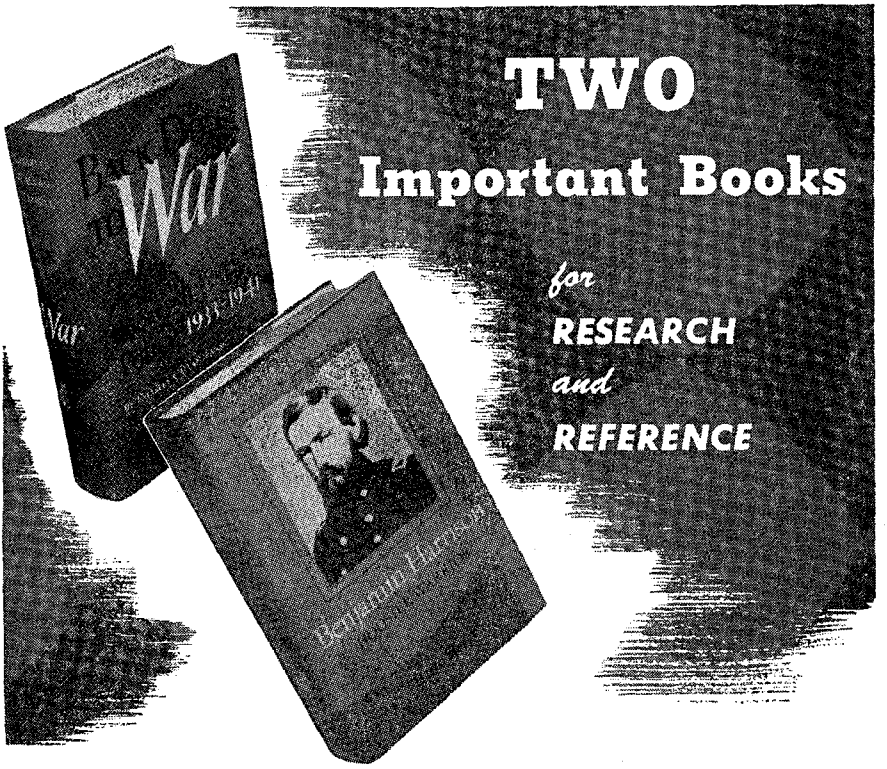
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